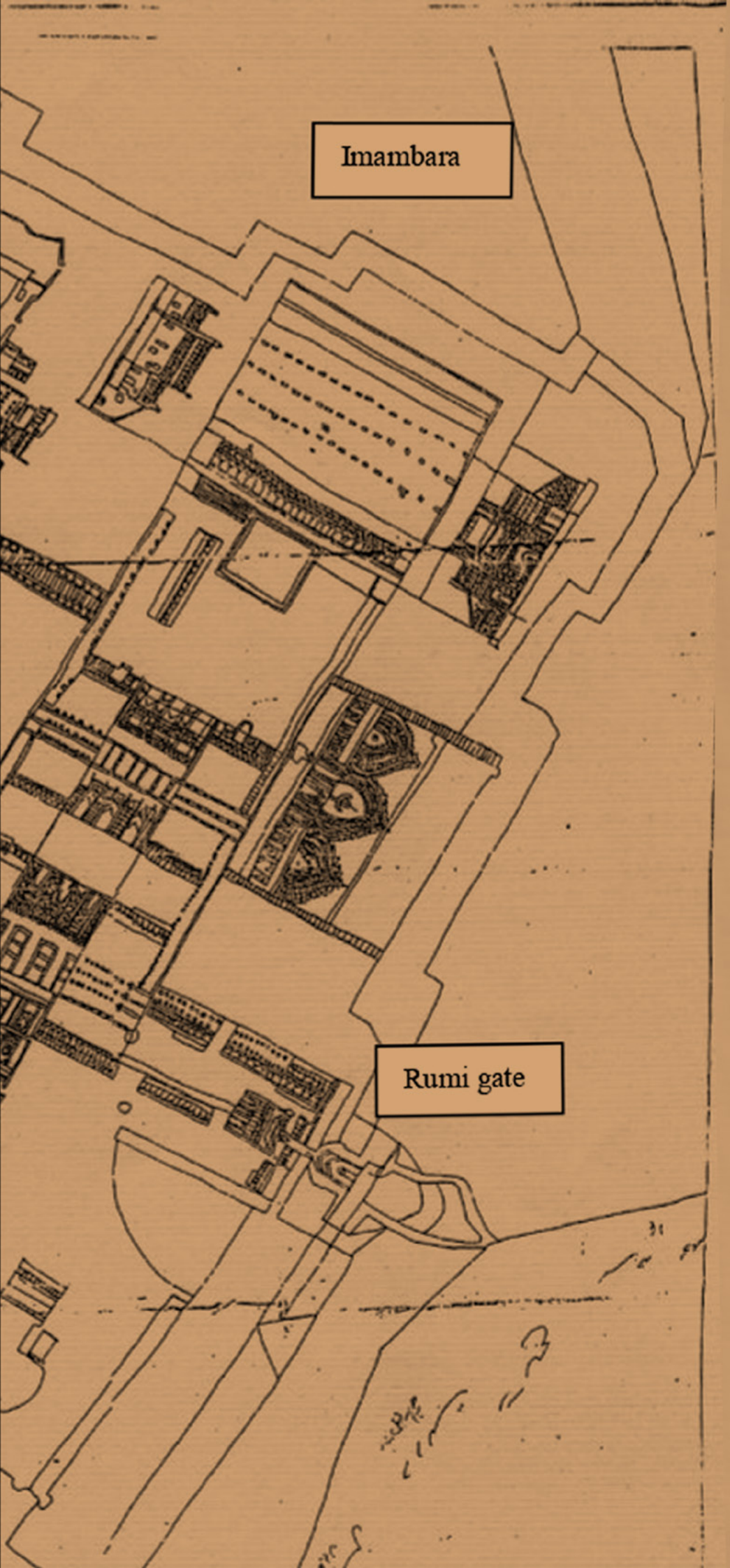

Lucknow

AN URBAN HISTORY

Neeta Das

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2024

Foreword

‘Lucknow: An Urban History’, was originally written as a doctoral dissertation titled, ‘Some Aspects of Awadh Architecture,’ which started in the conservation department of School of Architecture and Planning, New Delhi but due to some technical problems was finally submitted in the Department of Medieval and Modern History, University of Lucknow, Lucknow in 2003.

It was written under the supervision of Dr. P.K.Ghosh, Professor, Department of Medieval and Modern History, University of Lucknow. The thesis was submitted, duly completed and signed, for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy in History at the University of Lucknow. At the School of Architecture and Planning, New Delhi, the thesis was guided by Prof. Nalini Thakur.

The thesis is being published in its original format. Much has changed in the last twenty years as far as thesis writing, printing, and publishing is concerned. To maintain the ‘authentic’ flavour of the thesis that was typed out on a word processor, and all illustration pages put together by hand, and the whole thesis finally xeroxed and hand bound, I have left the document as it was with its ‘irregularities’ and ‘inconveniences’ not to forget the ‘black and white’ presentation and hand drawn drawings.

The sources of all images are duly acknowledged and the purpose of publishing this thesis is primarily academic for use of students and researchers. Most of the matter of the original thesis remains unchanged and only a small section on reconstruction of Lucknow has been added to the last chapter ‘War and the destruction of Nawabi Lucknow.’ I hope this thesis is of use for those interested in Lucknow.

The thesis, now book, deals with the genesis, growth, and expansion of the city of Lucknow during the Nawabi period. It does not deal with the individual buildings and their architecture in detail and therefore has been titled ‘Lucknow: An Urban History,’ instead of some aspects of Awadh architecture as in the original version.

Dr. Neeta Das

2024

Preface

The rich culture and heritage of *Nawabi* Lucknow needs no introduction. Many books have been written on the topic and a lot of research work has been done, and is still been done. However, architectural history of Lucknow has been neglected by most scholars due to the unfavorable interpretations by nineteenth century historians and thus needs to be re-examined for many reasons.

Firstly, by and large, the study of these buildings is rarely accompanied by any graphic information like measured drawings and period photographs. For any architectural study such documentation is very important, therefore this study presents the description of *Nawabi* buildings with drawings and photographs.

Secondly, these buildings have been dealt with ‘in isolation’, i.e. the extant scholarship does not establish any relationship between the various structures in a building complex, or between buildings, or between the buildings and their context. The available studies make no attempt to describe or interpret the buildings in relation to the other buildings of its time, built in India and in other parts of the world, which limits the scope of its use by other scholars. Without this information, the understanding of the architectural history of the period remains fragmented and scattered. This study intends to present the architectural history in a more comprehensive manner.

Thus, the purpose of this study is to first reconstruct the architectural history of Lucknow by chronological documentation and careful holistic interpretation that ties the building with each other and with its context. This reconstruction will help develop an understanding of what makes the buildings built during the eighteenth and nineteenth century Lucknow unique and important to architectural history of both India and the rest of the world.

I wish to add that even though I am an architect my thesis had to be interdisciplinary as it draws very heavily from Awadh history. For making this thesis happen I am deeply indebted to my guide Dr. P. Ghosh, Professor, Department of History (Medieval and Modern), University of Lucknow, Lucknow. It was not only his guidance and supervision but also most importantly his encouragement and continued faith in me when I was on the verge of leaving this endeavor. My second pillar of strength has been my father, Dr. Y.C. Agarwal. His doctorate work is what inspired me to take up this dissertation work in the first place and without his constant help in reading and close editing my thesis, I doubt if I would have completed this work.

My special gratitude to my teachers Professor John Hancock and Dr. Patrick Snadon who developed my love for architectural history and to Professor Nalini Thakur, Professor K. B. Jain, Professor D. C. Thapar, and Dr. O.P. Agarwal who offered valuable suggestions and advice from time to time.

My very sincere thanks are also due to Dr. Rosie L. Jones whose work on Lucknow has been my inspiration. I rely deeply on her scholarship and her advice.

My thesis would not have been possible without the efforts of the students of Government College of Architecture, Lucknow, whose measured drawings of various monuments helped me in my reconstruction. I also wish to thank all my office staff since 1987, too many to name, who have assisted me in giving these drawings their final shape. Tribhuvan Chaurasia, of my office, has done endless photocopying and running around.

Last but not the least, I wish to thank all my friends and family for their silent support including my mother, sisters, brothers-in-law, children, and not to forget my husband, Professor Shubhrajit Das, who made my dissertation look elegant. In spite of my best efforts there might be some typological errors, for which I may kindly be excused.

Neeta Das

19.09.03

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Historical Backdrop

Lucknow like most riverine cities of the north Indian plain, has a traceable Hindu origins couched in myth and fable. Its founder was said to be *Lakshman*, the brother of Lord *Rama* of Ayodhya, and named *Lakshmanpur* after him. Lucknow is located on the south bank of *Gomti*, a tributary of *Ganga*. The town's most prominent landmark was a hillock called *Lakshman Tila*. Upon this rise once stood a cave shrine that had been associated since with the worship of god *Vishnu*. The earliest settlement was a colony of *Brahmins* and *Kayasths* located around this shrine. Over the centuries, waves of Rajput invaders and a steady flow of immigrants from the countryside made Lucknow a sizable township and a large center for trade in grain[1].

Lucknow was an important settlement during the *Maurya* (322 B.C.- 232 B.C.) and *Gupta* (300 – 500 A.D.) periods. At the end of the Hindu rule King Jai Chand of Kannauj took control of the area around Lucknow presently known as Awadh.[2] These were small principalities ruled by petty Rajas and Zamindars. Colonization of Lucknow started with the advent of the Muslim settlers.

Lucknow was the part of the *Iqta* (military and administrative unit of the Sultans) of Awadh from the earliest days of the Muslim rule and served as an important city. The coins of the Turk, Khilji, Tughalaq, and Lodi Sultans have been found in and around Lucknow.[3]

In the contemporary historical literature, the name of Lucknow is mentioned in connection with the events between 1338 and 1341 A.D., when the Doab was in the grip of severe famine and it was Lucknow, which supplied large quantities of grain to Muhammad Tughlaq during his stay at Swargdwari, near Kannauj.[4] Lucknow seems to have been held by the Sharqi kings of Jaunpur also as evidenced by the dispatch of an expedition by Sultan Muhammad Shah in 1440 A.D. against the *Vaish* Raja of Kakori, who had extended his marauding activities into the very heart of Lucknow.[5] Bahlol Lodi had assigned Lucknow along with Kalpi to his grandson Azam Khan, the son of Bayazid Khan in 1487 A.D.[6] Ahmad Khan, the son of Mubarak Khan Lodi also held Lucknow in 1506 A.D., but he was disposed off by Sikander Lodi and replaced by his brother, Sayeed Khan.[7] Thus, Lucknow was an important trade center during the pre-Mughal rule and remained so during the Mughal rule also.

In 1526, Babur occupied Lucknow, but he had to abandon it soon after. Meanwhile, Bibban, the Afghan chief, besieged Lucknow and captured it.[8] Babur sent an army against Bibban, who fled away without facing a battle. Thus Lucknow once again fell into the hands of Babur in March 1528.[9] The Emperor duly celebrated his victory by issuing a new silver coin bearing the legend *'Zarb Lucknow'*.[10]

During his brief reign, Sher Shah Suri had set up a mint at Lucknow to manufacture copper coins; this mint was retained even

after the rule of Akbar.[11] In 1539 after his defeat against Sher Shah at Chausa, Humayun fled from the battlefield and halted at Lucknow for rest. The people of Lucknow gifted him ten thousand rupees and fifty horses. So much was collected in such a short time goes to prove that Lucknow in those days was quite flourishing and had a sizeable population.[12]

By the sixteenth century, the Mughal Empire was divided into twelve provinces; each administered by an appointed governor. The political importance of Lucknow was understood by the fact that when Emperor Akbar reorganized his vast empire, Lucknow was chosen to be the seat of the governor of the key province (*suba*) of Awadh (Avadh, Awadh or Oudh, as it was later called by the British) in 1590. During this time, one Sheikh Abdur Rahim of Bijnaur went to the imperial court and became an official for the Mughal emperor and was also granted a *jagir* in Lucknow.[13]

Shahjehan appointed Sultan Ali Shah Quli Khan, the Subedar of Awadh, who had two sons, Mirza Fazil and Mirza Mansur.[14] In 1723, the Mughal Emperor Muhammad Shah, granted the governorship of Awadh to Burhan-ul-Mulk Amin-ud-din Khan Nishapuri (1732-1739 A.D.), better known as Nawab Saadat Khan.

Nawab Saadat Khan, a Persian nobleman, came to India from Nishapur in 1707 during the reign of Aurangzeb (1658-1707 A.D.). He came from a Shia family in Persia whose fortunes had declined and

thus decided to try his fortunes at the Mughal court in Delhi. By 1719 he was a *faujdar* (superintendent) of a district in Agra. It was his job to collect revenue. He was very efficient and very soon, by defeating the Shaikhzadas of Lucknow, the rulers of Lucknow at the time, became the *Subedar* (governor) of Awadh. The decline of the Mughal strength after Aurangzeb contributed to the formation of feudal states by governors who were appointed by them to administer these territories. Thus, Nizam-ul-Mulk formed Hyderabad in 1726, Ali Verdi Khan became independent in Bengal in 1740, and Peshwa Baji Rao I consolidated his state in 1740. Similarly, Burhan-ul-Mulk became the defacto ruler of Awadh in 1732.

Lucknow under the Nawabs

One of Saadat Khan's first expressions of his authority in Awadh was the capture of Lucknow. After his capture of Lucknow, Saadat Khan established his capital in the city of Faizabad. Until his death in 1739, and through vigorous campaigns against rebellious princes throughout the province, Saadat Khan centralized his control in Awadh while the Mughal Empire slowly dissolved. After his death, his position was granted to his nephew and son-in-law, Safdar Jang Mansur Ali Khan (1739-53A.D.). From this appointment by the Mughals and eventually through the policies of the East India Company, the Nawabs of Awadh

formed a provincial dynasty of the descendants of Saadat Khan to be henceforth referred to as ‘Nawabi’ in 1732, which lasted until 1856.

After the death of Safdar Jang, his son, Jalal-ud-din Haider Shuja –ud- Daula (1753-1775 A.D.), assumed the reins of government. His reign was however crowded with battles. In the first battle at Panipat in 1761 he defeated the Khans of Rohelkhand. In 1764 the British in the battle of Buxar defeated him. The British reinstated the defeated Nawab after many negotiations. In 1773, Governor General Warren Hastings proposed the appointment of a British Resident in Faizabad who would ‘strengthen’ the ties between the Nawab and the British, a proposal the Nawab gladly accepted. In January 1774, Nathaniel Middleton, an associate of Hastings and a merchant was sent to the Faizabad court as Resident, later to be recalled and replaced by John Bristow. After that the British appointed many Residents to Lucknow who were ‘guests’ of the Nawabs and all their expenses were borne by the Nawabi court.

Shuja-ud-Daula died and was succeeded by Nawab Asaf-ud-Daula (1775-1797A.D.). After his accession the situation changed. The British with great intelligence influenced the Nawab to amuse himself with things other than defense and administration. The Nawab was an obedient ally to his British friends, and thus became very popular with the British court. He diverted his attention instead to the development of the elaborate court culture at Lucknow. Moreover, the rapid growth

of Lucknow began in 1775, when the fourth Nawab Asaf-ud-Daula, shifted his capital to Lucknow along with a huge entourage not only from Faizabad but from surrounding areas as well.

After his arrival, Asaf-ud-Daula immediately began extensive building projects to accommodate the swelling population and to support the establishment of his authority. This tradition of building was continued by the later Nawabs. The history of Lucknow as a major city, thus, began with the decline of the Mughal Empire, and continued through a period of transition in which the British extended and consolidated their control over the subcontinent.

After the death of Asaf-ud-Daula, his son Nawab Vizier Ali Khan (1797-98 A.D.) assumed ruler ship. Bahu Begam, the mother of Asaf-ud-Daula, herself preferred her stepson Yamin-ud-Daula Saadat Ali Khan (1798-1814 A.D.). However, when Vizier Ali lost favor with the British, Saadat Ali Khan was made ruler in 1798 after presenting half his domain to the British. Being an efficient ruler, he was disillusioned by his decision to hand over half his domain, as he did not have much control either. Nonetheless, he carried out praiseworthy changes in Lucknow. After his death in 1814, he was succeeded by his son Ghasi – ud-din Haider (1814-27 A.D.).

The history of the dynasty of Shia Nawabs of Irani lineage based in Lucknow was brief and full of difficulties. Briefly, Awadh was rich and extensive, and the British longed to control its revenues. They

eagerly sought alliances with the strong and able early Nawabs. In the eighteenth century the British steadily nibbled at the territories and revenues of Awadh in the form of several treatises. While the Awadh shrank in size, the powers, riches, and territory of the British resident grew. Gradually he extended his jurisdiction beyond matters of trade and defense into matters of the court. In 1819, Ghasi-ud-din Haider was persuaded by the British to break frayed ties with the Mughals and declare himself King. Later, his son Nasir-ud-din Haider (1827-37 A.D.) became king. But for all formal and ceremonial purposes the Resident was deemed as his equal. In absolute terms the Resident even had an edge over the King as he was backed by the most formidable Imperial power in the world. He could threaten and bully the King whereas the King could occasionally sulk.

After the death of Nasir-ud-din Haider, the son of Saadat Ali Khan, Muhammad Ali Shah (1837-42 A.D.) was deputed by the British to rule at the age of sixty-three. His son, Amjad Ali Shah (1842-47 A.D.) became ruler after his death. The aggressiveness of the Resident found its complement in the grasping politics of Lord Dalhousie, the governor general of India from 1848 to 1852. He annexed several Indian states and waited for an opportunity to absorb Awadh. On February 13, 1856 during the rule of Nawab Wajid Ali Shah (1847-1856), son of Amjad Ali Shah, the British annexed Awadh on the self-righteous ground that,

> “ The British Government would be guilty in the sight of God and man, if it were any longer to aid in sustaining by it’s countenance an administration fraught with evil to millions”.[15]

The society and culture during the Nawabs

Although the prosperity of Lucknow depended largely upon the rural economy, the city was structurally and culturally isolated from the surrounding countryside. The system of revenue administration used during the Nawabi period required, on the part of the ruler, a minimal interest in the affairs of the province; and with the increasing power of the British, the Nawabs were released from the responsibilities of administration and defense. Lucknow gained popularity in the 18th and 19th centuries not because it was a political center but because it boasted a reputation for gaiety, luxury, and rich cultural life derived from the patronage of the wealthy and sophisticated aristocracy. This patronage attracted many of the finest poets, dancers, musicians, courtesans, craftsmen, theologians and other disciplines, not only from the declining court of Delhi but from all over, who sought other kinds of service and gain. In Lucknow, the court culture of Delhi flourished and was elaborated for the last time, but without the repeated conflicts and devastation faced by the Mughal Empire.

By the end of the eighteenth century, the Nawabi court had already included Europeans who had come as soldiers, traders, East

India Company officials or just hangers-on who were attracted by the opulent court. The presence of these foreigners resulted in a considerable amount of Europeanization at the court of the Nawabs. This European influence exhibited itself in dress, entertainment, furnishings, and architecture. As early as 1786 Ozias Humphry, the artist, who was dining with Nawab Asaf-ud-Daula's chief minister remarked, "...if I looked no further than the Tea table, I could persuade myself I was in London".[16]

In his book, *Urban Structures and Transformations in Lucknow, India*, Keith Hjortshoj writes that, because Lucknow became a major city only in the late eighteenth century, very few of its physical structures were built before 1700, and almost all of its traditions can be traced to other parts of India, Persia and Central Asia. To these were added the Western traditions contributed by the Europeans. The Nawabs and the Nawabi rule can thus be considered as the bedrock of the history of Lucknow. Lucknow is unique in that it is one of the few Indian cities, which witnessed the meeting of two diverse cultures and the shift of power by the Mughals, with their seat in Delhi, to the British with their seat in Calcutta. Between these two centralized powers, Lucknow experienced what Hjortshoj calls the "insulated peace" that lasted for 37 years. The Nawabs created, as Hjortshoj suggests,

> "a dream world...a temporary paradise on earth...where people came to escape from other places and they were all grasping the remains of an empire."

There was a general sentiment in the city, and one that can still be felt, that the diverse qualities of life in Lucknow, were the finest of the type in the subcontinent. Abdul Halim Sharar, an historian who followed the last Nawab into exile, suggests that the Lakhnavis believed they were living in the most civilized city in India. They were also perhaps aware that they were living in one of the last and most opulent of the indigenous court cities of India and that its prosperity and unbroken peace could not last. Therefore, the Nawabs of Lucknow tried their best to create a Paradise here in whatever time and resources that they had which could compare to the Great Mughals.

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[1] Veena Oldenburg, *The making of Colonial Lucknow*, pg. 6
[2] Lucknow was a part of Awadh, Awadh, or Oudh
[3] *History of Lucknow Cantonment*. (ed.) Cited in article entitled *Oudh and Lucknow: Through the ages*, by P.K. Ghosh, pg. 61-62
[4] *Travels of Ibu Batutta.* Pg. 342; S.A.A. Rizvi, op.cit., Vol. I, pg 223
[5] *U.P. District Gazetters*, Vol XXXVII, Lucknow, pg. 142
[6] Naimatullah. *Tarik-I-Khan Jahan Lodi.* Vol. V, pg. 90
[7] Elliot and Dowson. *The History of India as told by its own Historians.* Vol. V, pg. 102
[8] A.S. Beveridge. *The Babur Nama.* Vol. II, pg. 594-601
[9] R. Williams. *An Empire Builder of the Sixteenth century*, pg. 158
[10] C.J. Brown, *Numismatic Supplement, pg. 244*
[11] H.N. Wright. *Catalogue of Coins in the Indian Museum.* Vol. II, pg. 101
[12] *History of Lucknow cantonment*, op. cit., pg. 62
[13] Oldenburg, op. cit.
[14] U.P. District Gazetteers, Vol. XXXVII, Lucknow, pg. 29
[15] Oldenburg, op. cit. pg. 9
[16] Rosie. L. Jones, *A Fatal Friendship*, pg. 58

The Machchi Bhawan fort

When Nawab Saadat Khan came to Lucknow in 1723 it was like any other medieval town i.e. accretive, concentric, and aggregarian. Like most other towns it was situated next to a river, in this case, Gomti. The town had an old fortified palace, the Machchi Bhawan, located alongside the river and near the highest mound named Lakshman Tila. To the southwest on the periphery of the fort was *Chowk*, the main trade route and market place of Lucknow. Around it on both sides was the residential area now referred to as 'old' Lucknow.

In 1590 Sheikh Abdur Rahim, the ruler of Lucknow before Saadat Khan, took up residence near Lakshman Tila (also known as Shah Pir Muhammad hill) and built his residence there called Panch Mahal or five palaces (Fig. 1.1, 1.2). He fortified it and erected the Shaikhan Darwaza at the south entrance. It stood just inside the north wall of the fort and was visible from the river. This building was either demolished or severely altered, as it does not feature as a major building after Asaf-ud-Daula came to power. By 1766 Panch Mahal had become the most prominent feature of Lucknow and was later called Machchi Bhawan. The fort palace probably got its name for two reasons: one, because the fort had two fishes on each of its twenty-six arches, hence, *Machchi* or fish. The second reason could be that the Sheikh had been awarded the title *Mahi Maratib* or 'The honour of the

Fish' by the Mughal emperor.[1] The emblem of two fishes facing each other was the insignia of the Sheikhs, and the Nawabs and the British alike, later adopted the same. Even today, the fish emblem can be seen on many buildings and government seals of Lucknow.

Under the Nawabs

When Nawab Saadat Khan came to power, he rented some of the existing buildings from the Sheikhs, most important being the Panch Mahal, and improved it greatly. He added another gate called the *Naqqar Khana* near or instead of the earlier gate. Nawab Safdar Jung later purchased the Machchi Bhawan from the Sheikhs and further fortified it.[2] More additions were done by Nawab Shuja-ud-Daula.[3] When Asaf-ud-Daula shifted his capital from Faizabad to Lucknow, he started living in this fort and further enlarged it. Three years after his shifting to Lucknow, his grandmother Sadun-un-nisa Begum was not happy with the changes and complained to the Mughal emperor in Delhi that, 'the Nawab has entirely ruined the house which Nawab Shuja-ud-Daula raised to the highest pitch of splendour'.[4] Later Asaf-ud-Daula built the Asfi Imambara within the complex. Thus, all earlier Nawabs, Saadat Khan, Safdar Jung, Shuja-ud-Daula, and Asaf-ud-Daula took interest in the old fort and greatly improved upon it. Pre-1857 maps show it to be quite a large fort (Fig. 1.3).

The fact that the British Commander during 1857, Sir Henry Lawrence, proceeded to dynamite part of the structure for fear that it might become an impregnable stronghold for the Indian rebels, shows that the site and its subsequent development were entirely apt for defence. None of the later palace complexes paid more than a lip service to the notion of defence.[5] Apart from it's important position on the highest mound in Lucknow, the Machchi Bhawan fort commanded three essential points of communication in Lucknow: Two roads from the north, and the other from the west which led from Kanpur and Chowk, converged in front of the palace as did the approach from the Gomti bridge. Thus, this palace controlled the major crossing points over the Gomti. There are no records of quays or landings stages here although there was a considerable amount of river traffic especially from Calcutta.[6] There are many descriptions of the fort by travellers such as William Hodges, Martin Gubbins, and Lt General MacLeod, to name a few. Early pictures of this area, including views and etchings by William Hodges, Thomas and William Daniells, and Joseph Tieffenthaler[7], show that the chief characteristic of this complex was that of defence, emphasised by the massive buttresses rising from the hillock. It was the only fortified palace complex of Lucknow ever to be built (Fig. 1.4 to 1.11)). There is, however, a written record of another fort in south Lucknow called Jalalabad Fort, built by Nawab Safdar Jung, to protect the city from any invaders from the south.[8]

Many contemporary travellers have described the Machchi Bhawan fort. An 1858 description of the fort narrates:

> " The Muchee Bhowun…has an imposing appearance. It comprises three plateaus, of which the lowest was little above the level of the road, and the highest towered above the neighbouring buildings. The high road skirted the whole length of the position, and followed the level of the ground, which rose naturally from the lowest eastern plateau to the highest on the west side. From the road on that, i.e. the west extreme of the position, a short but steep ascent led to the main gateway. The highest plateau was covered with the 'bhowuns' or pavilions originally built by the Sheikhs of Lucknow, which were in a very dilapidated condition, and contained the modern residence of one of the ex-King's brothers, Newaub Yuheea Ali Khan. On the second plateau stood a handsome baraduree…and a few smaller buildings. The lower plateau was an open space surrounded by low ranges of masonary sheds. There was no gate leading directly from the outside into the second plateau; but two opened into the lower, one at the east end, the second from the main road on the north side".[9]

Description by William Hodges of the area in *Travels in India during the years 1780,81,82,83* mentions Machchi Bhawan as:

> "…Constructed in the form of a chateau, surrounded with walls and high towers. There is a lofty gateway, and a great fore court, that stands before a tall building with arcades, designed for sounding the tambour (ceremonial drums)…the exterior of the building is not to be commended: it reminded me of what I imagined might be the style of a Baron's castle in Europe, about the twelfth century".[10]

Mr. Martin Gubbins, in *Historic Lucknow,* after 1857 writes:

> " Machchi Bhawan was made on three raised mounds. The highest one has the main building, which is in dilapidated condition. On the second mound which is at a lower level, there is marble baradari and few small buildings, the third side has a wall with window".[11]

Lt General James MacLeod Innes while surveying the area in 1895 wrote:

> " Machchi Bhawan comprised number of buildings and existed as a fort. The fortifications are made of stones and mortar. It is quite high all round and interjected by round *burjis*. There is a gate on the western side towards the city where guards are mounted. Nearby are two pavilions on raised grounds having

verandah on all the four sides on the north side; towards Gomti, there are vaulted halls with arches".

An English traveller in Gladwin's *Asiatic Miscellany*, contained in the *Asiatic Annual Register*, dated October 1785, gave a further detailed account. It mentions that the fort lies towards the east side of the city and along the edge of the river. It has six principal courts. The complex was entered through entrance gates into the first court, which had the Panch Mahal, and a room called '*naubat khana*' to sound the drums. This court was for the king's 'equipage and attendants'. The second courtyard consisted of the state apartments encompassing a square garden with a step well or *baoli*. The step well was also used as summer palace and has been described by Viscount Valentia when he stayed there as a guest. Parallel to the *baoli* was the *Sungi Dalan* or Stone hall, comprising a grand hall surrounded by a double arcade and crowned by four gilded cupolas. To the north of the Sungi Dalan was another garden court containing the public offices where probably the *durbar* or court was held. The fifth consisted of the '*zenana*' and the buildings were known as Khurd Mahal and Rang Mahal. The sixth and last court of the Machchi Bhawan complex was an area to the east called Husain Bagh which was described as a flower garden at the river's edge, enclosed with a brick wall covered with vines.[12] Accounts of early travellers also state that there was a building called *Aaina*

Khana (mirror house) on the east of the Machchi Bhawan which housed 'an absolute confusion of treasures' collected by Asaf-ud-Daula.[13]

Reconstruction

It is difficult to reconstruct the Machchi Bhawan fort because of several reasons. Firstly, very little of the original fort remains both in terms of the buildings and the mounds frequently mentioned by travellers. Secondly, the descriptions of the contemporary travellers give very conflicting views of the area especially if they are based on cardinal directions. Finally, the maps, drawings, and photographs have been made or taken at different periods. In the meanwhile, the same building might have been reconstructed or renamed as it changed hands from one owner to another over time.

However, a tentative reconstruction of the area can be proposed considering all the above-mentioned evidence (Fig. 1.10). For this reconstruction the direction of the mosque, which is in the east west axis, will be considered. It is quite sure that the Machchi Bhawan fort was alongside the river and not abutting it. The Lakshman Tila with the Aurangzeb mosque was on the banks of Gomti and was near the fort. The fort was placed on the highest land of the hillock on which it stood. The hillock was undulating and had three mounds. This area today has the hostels of the Medical College and the Hussainabad Inter College. The Panch Mahal was probably located on the southern end of

the complex and the palace grew towards the north from there. (Fig. 1.4 to 1.12)

The road from Chowk, which also led to Kanpur, and the Stone Bridge, the route to Faizabad, met in front of the fort-palace, which formed a rectangular forecourt. The traveller would have to climb up a hillock to reach this court. From here was the entrance to the fort. One would pass through the *'Naubat Khana'*, which was a part of the entrance gate, to the first court referred to as the offices of the Nawab. Clustering from the map and drawings would show this to have many buildings (Fig 1.12). Being the oldest part, this was probably altered a lot and many additions made. One would then pass through to the *durbar* or court of the Nawab. Then would be the *zenana* or the queens quarter and the highest area would be for the Nawab along with the baoli. The *zenana*, like the entrance court had many buildings. Again, this idea is taken from the clustering pattern shown in the map. This hierarchy of moving from the public to the more private areas is common to most Indian palaces. Large open areas within the fort premises were probably the slopes of the hillock, which were not used. Later, Asaf-ud-Daula constructed the Imambara complex on the northwestern end of the fort, which was much lower than the rest of the area and bound it's north edges by the Rumi Darwaza. The eastern end had a retaining wall, which segregated the Lakshman Tila from the complex. Parts to this wall can be seen today.

Before the First war of Independence (Sepoy Mutiny) the Machchi Bhawan complex bought by the British. The British stationed their army here. After the war in 1858 the whole fort was blown up, as were many other Nawabi buildings, which posed a threat to the British. In 1905, King George V laid down the foundation stone of a medical college in the same area. (Fig. 1.13) It was known as the King George's Medical College and later renamed as Chhatrapati Shahuji Maharaj Medical University. Of the old Nawabi buildings in the Machchi Bhawan only the Imambara complex, the Baoli, and the Aurangzeb mosque exist. Archaeological excavations might reveal more of the old structures and the fort wall.

To summarise, after Sheikh Abdur Rahim, all earlier Nawabs, Saadat Khan, Safdar Jung, Shuja-ud-Daula, and Asaf-ud-Daula took great interest in the old fort and improved upon it. Pre-1857 maps show it to be quite a large fort. The fact that the British Commander during 1857, Sir Henry Lawrence, proceeded to dynamite the entire structure for fear that it might become an impregnable stronghold for the Indian rebels, shows that the site and its subsequent development were entirely apt for defence. Like all other Indian forts, built by the Hindu and Muslim rulers, it was located on a high strategic point, controlling all major land and water routes with strong bastioned walls. It had the official and residential quarters of the king, the *zenana* for his queens, religious buildings, and subsidiary structures needed for such a

complex. A *baoli* or step well, again similar to the forts of the sixteenth century, was the main source of water for the fort. The city below provided the other supplies and services for the fort-palace. Due to lack of information it is difficult to comment on the planning and architectural character of its buildings. We have information that all buildings were placed around six courts but it is still unclear whether the complex was based on any grid as was prevalent after the rule of Shahjehan or had the informal clustering of courtyards of the Sultanate period. However, it was the only fort of Lucknow that was built for defence.

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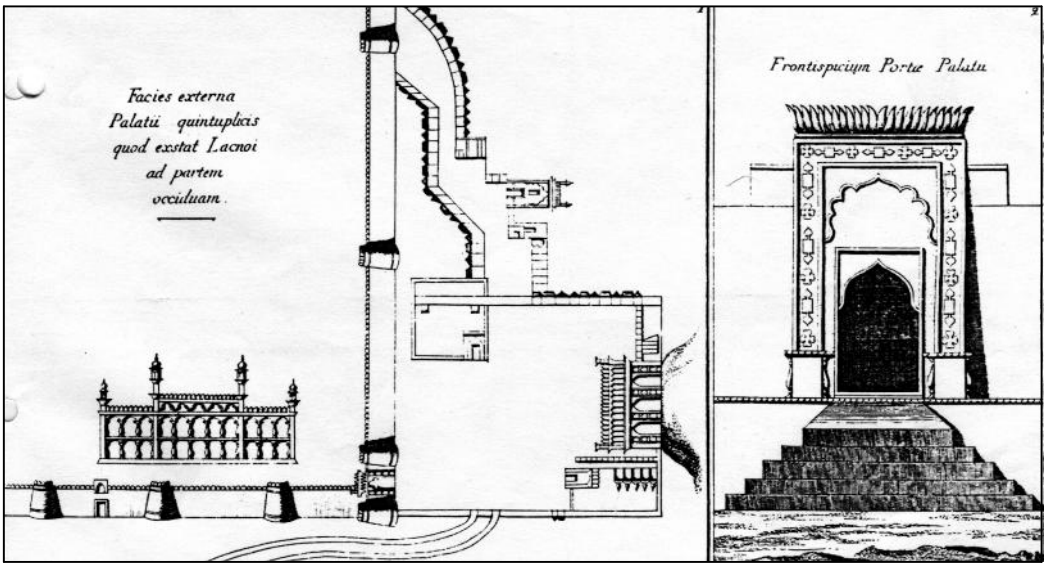
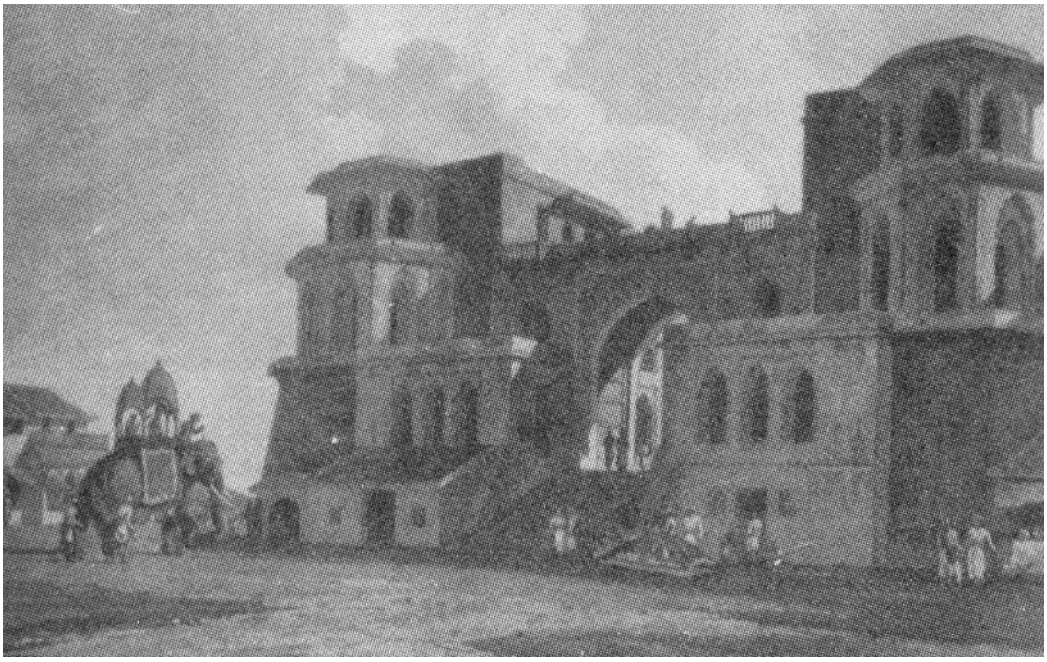
[1] U.P.Gazetteers, Vol. XXXVII, Lucknow, pg.32
[2] R.R. Kidwai. *Lucknow, The Lost Paradise*, pg. 36
[3] Banmali Tandan. *The Architecture of Lucknow and its Dependencies, 1722-1856*, pg. 76
[4] Rosie Llewellyn Jones. *A Fatal Friendship*, pg. 172
[5] Ibid. pg. 170
[6] Ibid. pg. 172
[7] Tandan, pg. 77
[8] Ibid. pg. 75
[9] Ibid. pg. 76
[10] Jones, op. cit., pg. 11
[11] Kidwai, op.cit. pg. 38
[12] Tandan, op. cit., pg. 86
[13] Jones, op. cit., pg. 174

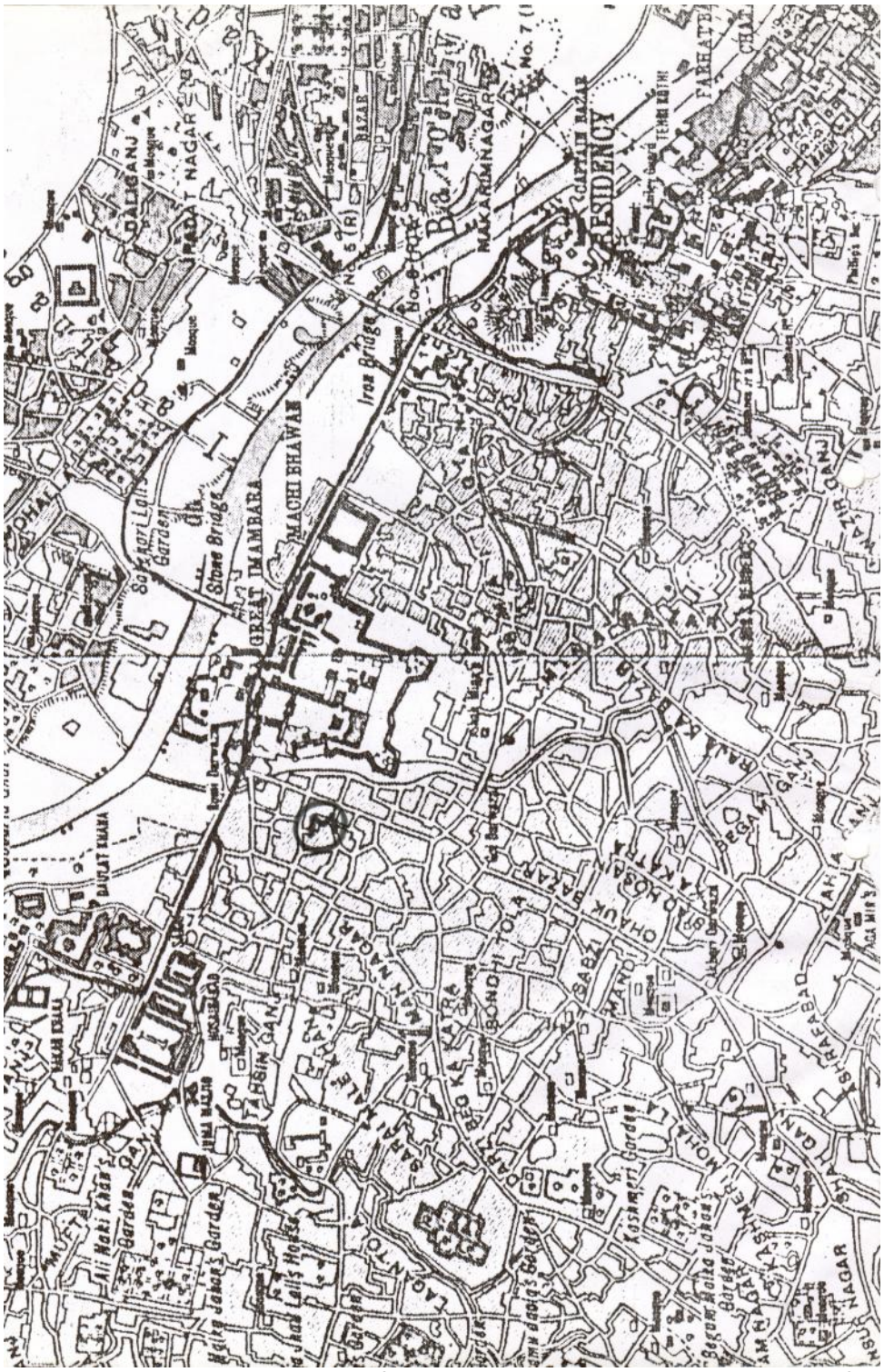
1.1 Tieffenthaler's sketch plan of the Panch Mahal area
1.2 Daniell's sketch of Panch Mahal

1.1

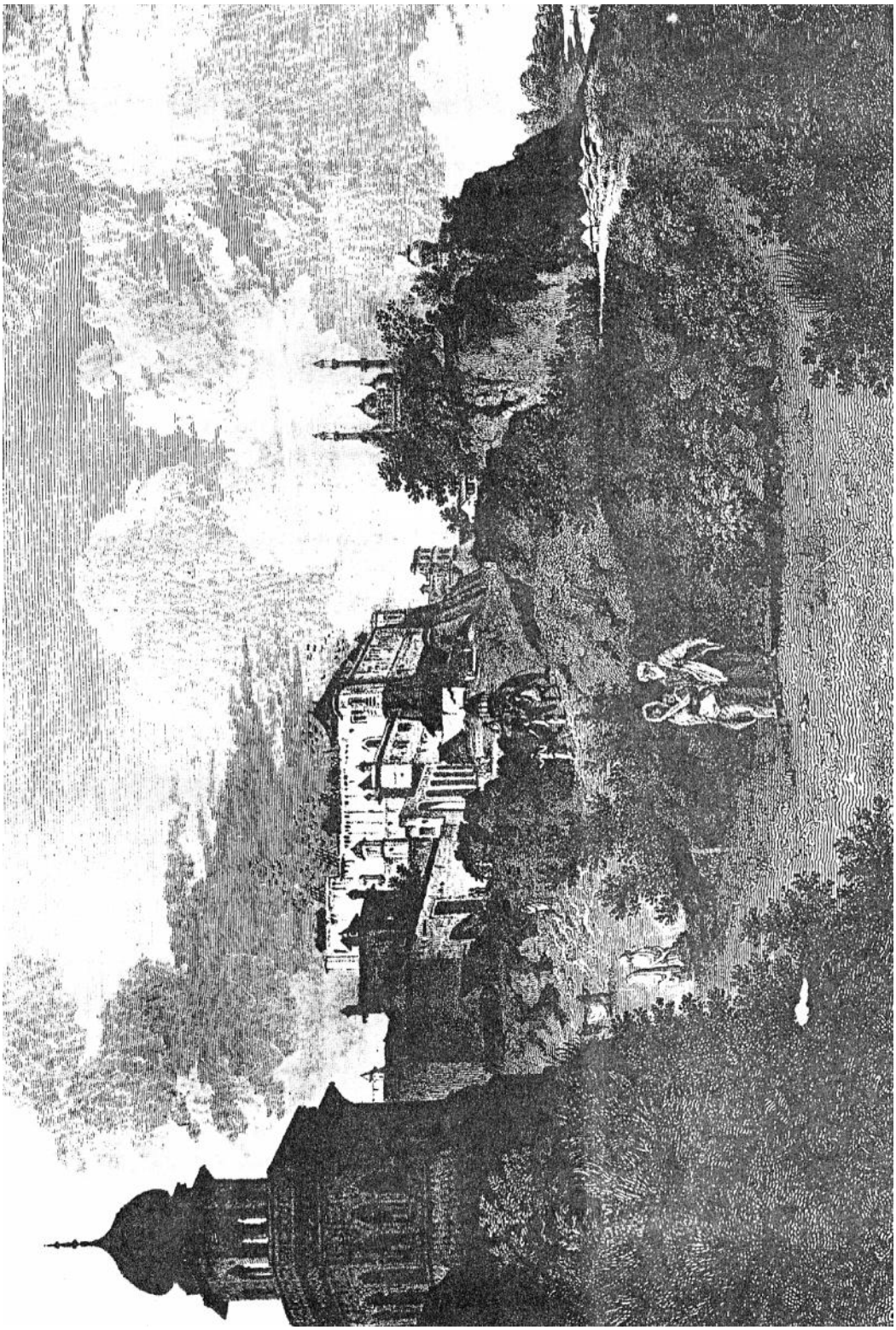




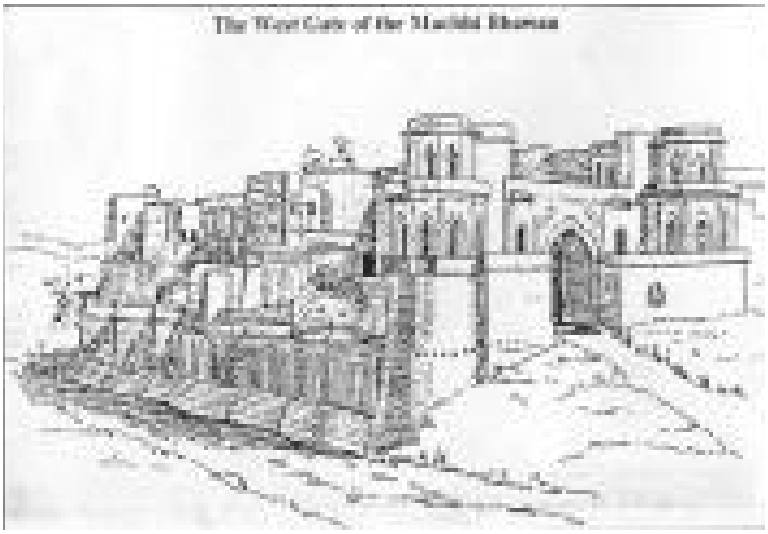
1.2

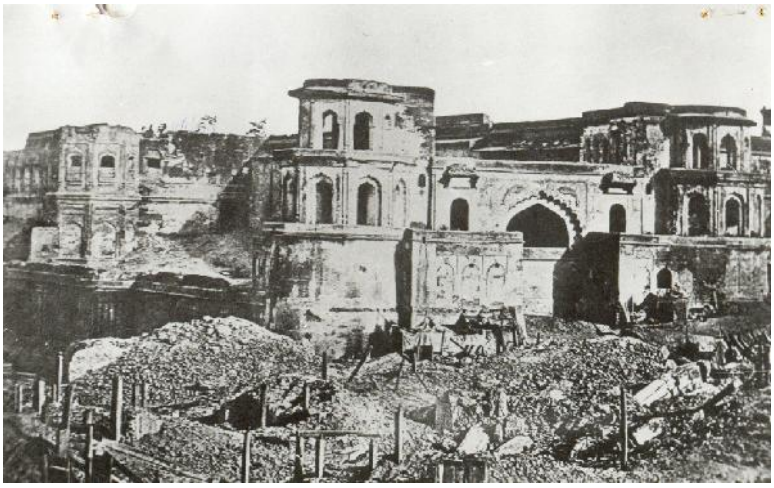


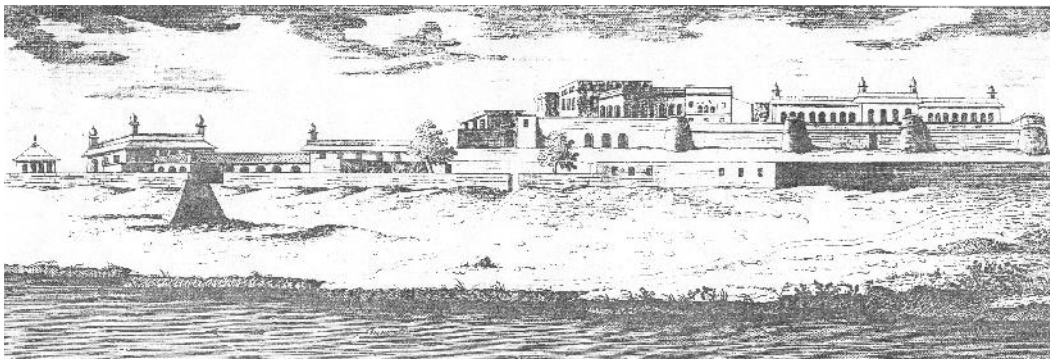
1.3 Pre-1857 map of Lucknow showing the Machchi Bhawan fort



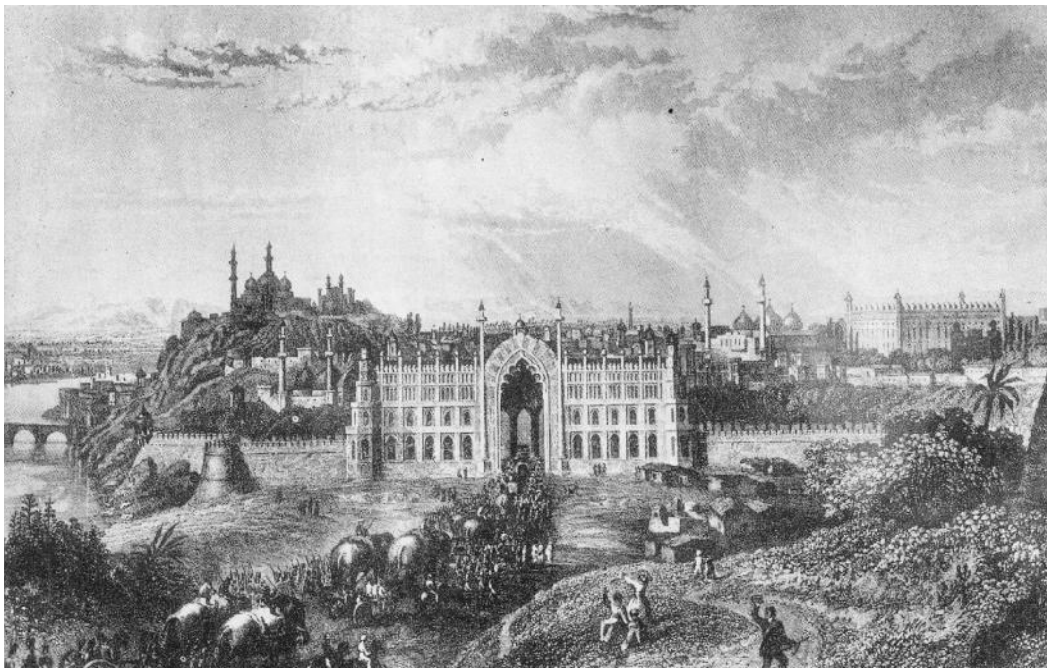
1.4 Hodges sketch with Machchi Bhawan on the left and Aurangzeb mosque on the right atop the Lakshman tila





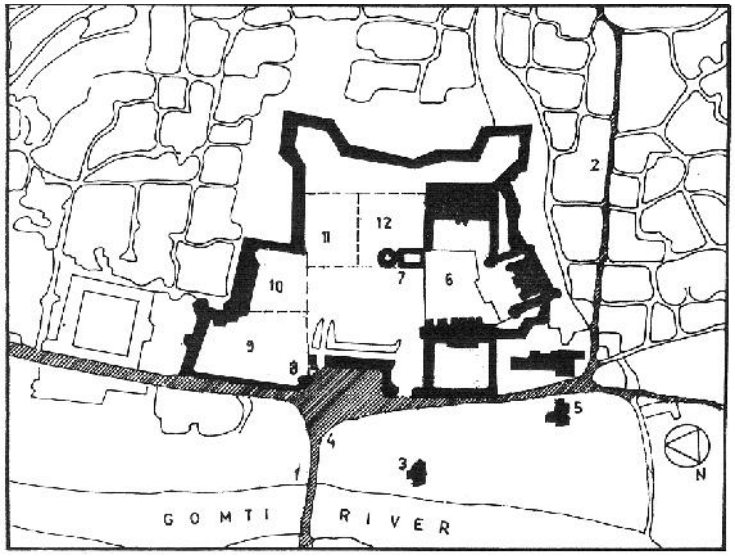


1.5 Etching of the Machchi Bhawan fort
1.6 Photograph of the Machchi Bhawan fort showing the entrance from the north
1.7 Tieffenthaler's sketch of the fort



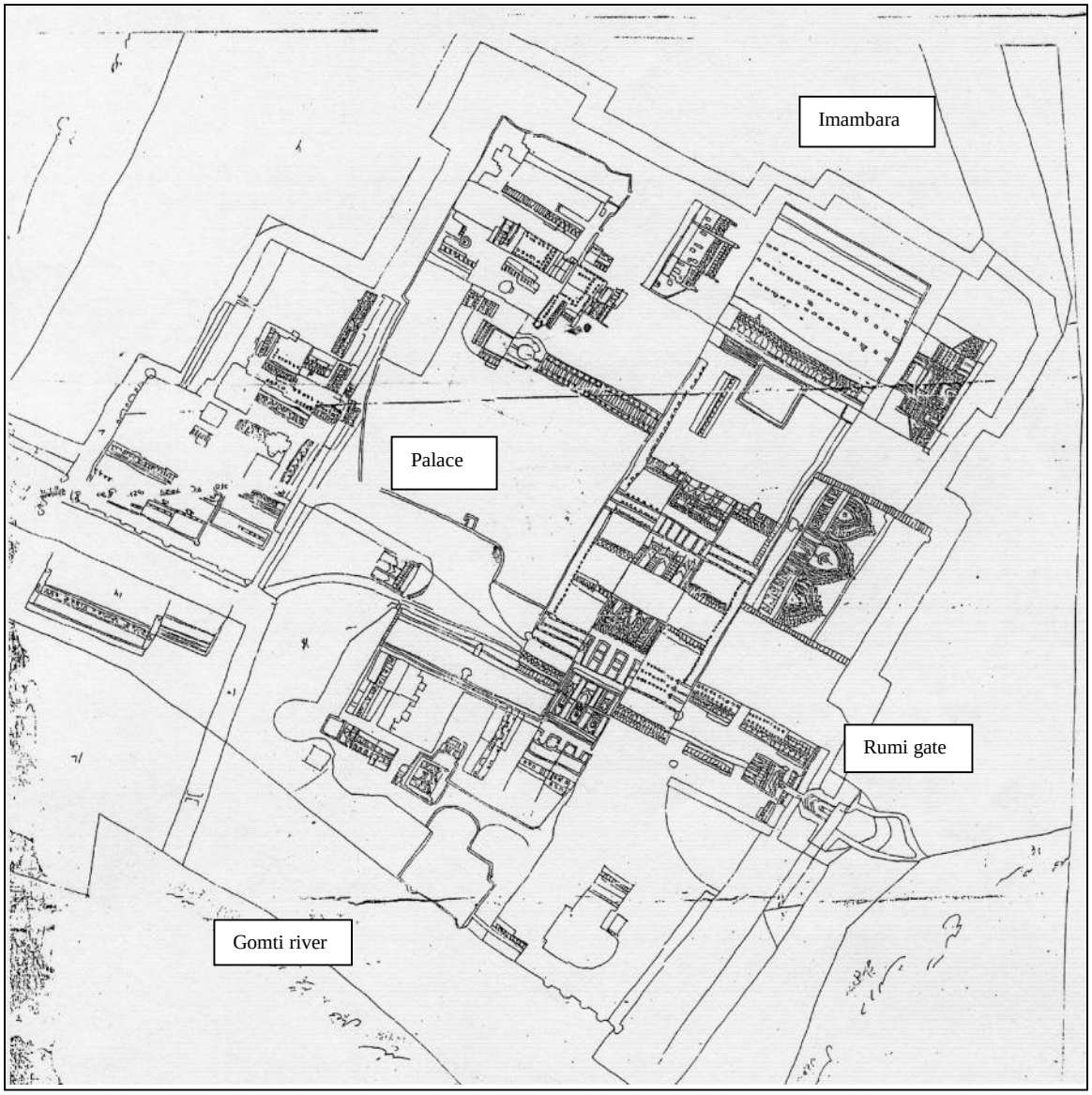
1.8 Photograph of the Rumi darwaza
1.9 Etching of the Machchi Bhawan with the Aurangzeb mosque on the left and the Asfi Imambara on the right

1 STONE BRIDGE
2 ROAD TO CHOWK
3 AURANGZEB MOSQUE
4 LAKSHMAN TILA
5 RUMI DARWAZA
6 ASFI IMAMBARA
7 BAOLI
8 ENTRANCE TO PANCH MAHAL
9 OFFICES
10 COURT
11 ZENANA
12 KING'S APARTMENT

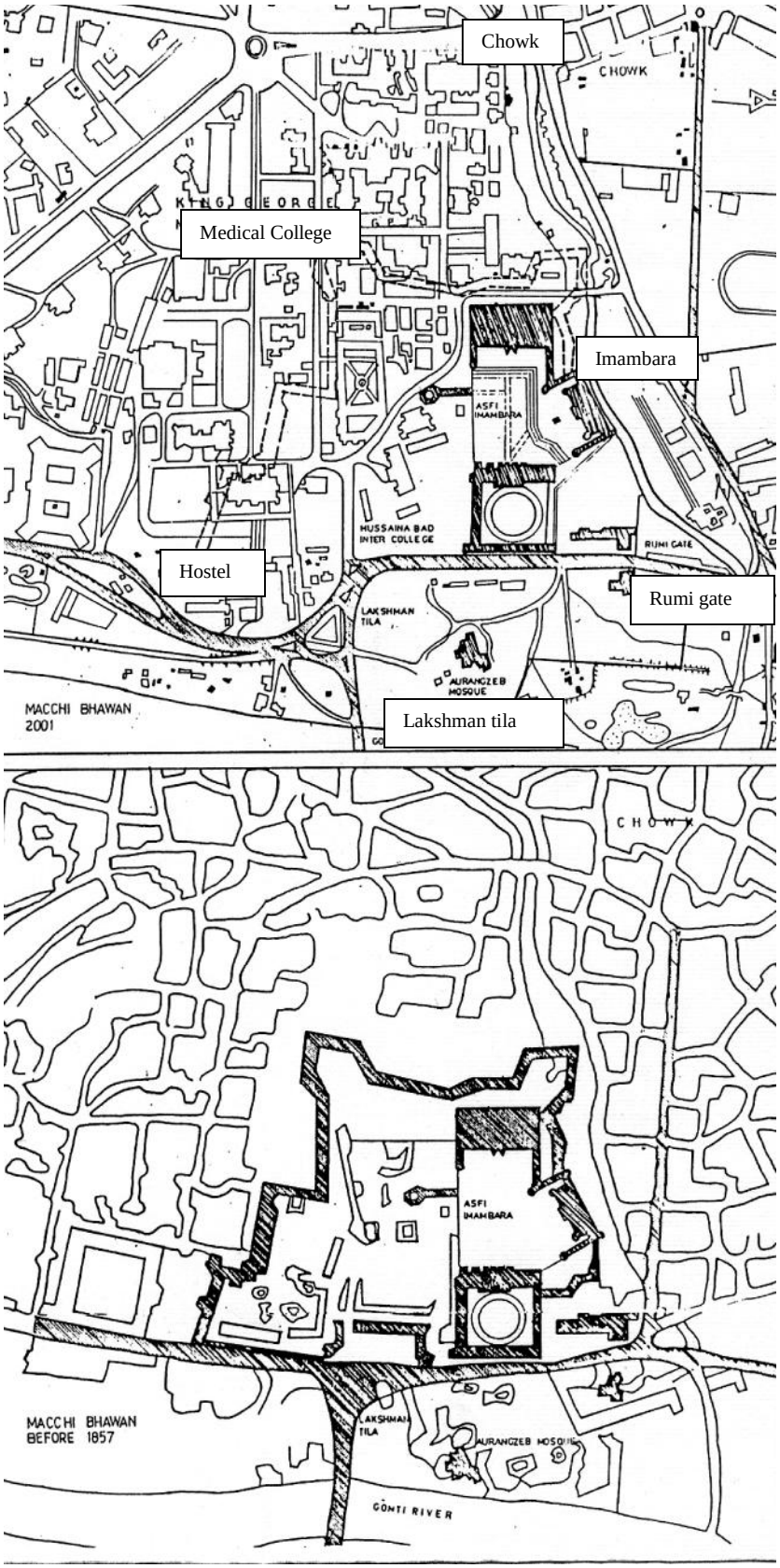


1.10 Reconstruction of the Machchi Bhawan fort

1.11 Approach from river; Aquatint of Machchi Bhawan by Daniell and Havell



1.12 1863 Board of revenue pictorial map indicates the clustering of buildings around courts in the Machchi Bhawan fort



1.13 The Machchi Bhawan locality before and after demolition

The 'Old' city of Lucknow

Below the the Machchi Bhawan fort to the west of it, the 'old' city of Lucknow grew around *chowk*, the main trade route of the city. Various *abadis* or settlements were established at different times according to the needs of the people and the whims of the rulers and nobles. Lucknow started developing when Sher Shah Suri developed a silver and copper mint in Lucknow around 1539.[1] He also developed several areas to the south of chowk. Lucknow continued to grow around this area in the reign of Akbar (Fig.2.1). Due to his tolerance towards the Hindus, many Hindu colonies like Bajpai *tola*, Katari *tola*, Sindhi *tola*, Banjari *tola*, and Ahiri *tola* came up.[2] Mirza Mandi was established during the reign of Prince Mirza Muhammad Salim.[3] By 1640, in the reign of Shah Jehan, Lucknow became a brisk business centre of sugar, Indigo, and Calico produced by British factories in Awadh.[4] Fazil Nagar and Mansur Nagar were developed and named after the sons of the Subedar of Awadh, Mirza Fazil and Mirza Mansur. At the same time a *risaldar*, Ashraf Ali Khan founded Asharfabad. His brother Musharaf Ali Khan established Musharfabad today known as Nau Basta. During the time of Muhammad Shah Rangila, Raj Girdhar Bahadur and his wife founded the Bahadur Nagar and Rani Nagar. [5] After Asaf-ud-Daula shifted his capital from Faizabad to Lucknow the city continued to grow under the later Nawabs and by the first war of

independence in 1857, the ‘old’ city extended from the Chowk street right up to Charbagh.

This city is very dense and much later when the British were trying to prepare a map of Lucknow; the ‘old’ city remained uncharted barring a few thoroughfares, and was labelled ‘dense’.[6] Like other pre-industrial cities, the residential part of ‘old’ Lucknow displays a morphology in which commerce, residential living, and socio-religious institutions are intermixed and grew by accretion.

Morphology

The rulers of Lucknow being Muslims since the sixteenth century, ‘old’ Lucknow, in its dominant form and culture, was essentially Islamic with a dense and labyrinthine urban fabric in which are embedded courtyard houses as the basic domestic form. The residential area around *chowk* was divided into areas occupied by people of different communities, castes, or guilds. These areas were called *tolas* if they arose before Persian words became fashionable with the advent of the Mughals and *mohalla* if it did so later. The areas were named after the caste or occupation of the residents, like Rastogi Tola, Kashmiri Mohalla, and so on. The nobility built their own residential palaces and *mohallas* with their own mosques and markets and named them after themselves.[7]

The residential streets were radially arranged from the fort with secondary lateral streets connecting them. These streets or *galis* were narrow, irregular, and labyrinthine in character with blind curves and cul-de-sacs as a safety devise to confuse the enemies. The lace like and cellular form of the streets evolved in a cohesive pattern, flowing into each other, and the width of the roads varying with function, location, and importance. Streets served principally as areas where people mingled, and socialised, where hawkers lined the curbs, where goods and services were bought and sold, and where traffic, which chiefly comprised pedestrians or beasts of burden, was slow moving and yielded to those standing and transacting business. In ‘old’ Lucknow the custom was, and is, often to go to the street and not to get anywhere; the street itself was a destination and an event.

Whereas the street of *chowk* was the main spinal market cutting across the city, the speciality markets or *bazaars* were scattered among the winding *galis* or streets of the residential areas. Because people of a particular occupation generally lived in a single locality, *bazaars* were usually extensions of the *mohallas*. The shops of one of the lanes, usually the widest, in the *mohalla*, constituted the speciality *bazaar* and were called *gunjes*, *mandis*, and *katras*. The Sanskrit word *gunj*, was generally confined to a grain market, though several *gunjes* expanded into retail centres for a variety of goods. *Mandi* or wholesale market was usually the word associated with bulky items of low value

such as vegetables, timber, grass or coal. The name *katra* was given to a bazaar that sold small cheap goods, but it originally denoted the quarter dominated by artisans of a particular guild. [8]

Although Nawabi Lucknow could be described as 'dense', the city was never enclosed as an entity and the dense, narrow, and meandering streets offered safety to the city. There is no evidence, either historical or archaeological, that Lucknow had external walls as many pre-industrial cities in Europe and Asia did. While the ruling families maintained defences of their own, in large citadels, other groups were left to fend for themselves. There were, and some exist even today, many large gates to close and protect specific complexes and localities, but none of them were 'city gates'.[9] The *chowk* street for example could be shut down by gates on both ends, Akbari Gate and Gol Darwaza. Some scholars say Qazi Mahmud Bilgrami, deputy of the subedar of Jawahar Khan of Awadh at the time to commemorate the visit of Akbar, built Akbari gate as a customhouse gate [10] (Fig. 2.2, 2.5).

House forms

In the 'old' city, dwellings were and still are organised as connected rows along these streets, both for the conservation and protection from heat, and to restrict the area of the city. The houses are similar in character, as there was little distinction between the classes of people,

and are all introverted with a court in the centre. The inner court, sometimes more than one, however, is an extension of the house. It is used extensively by the women for household chores like washing and drying in the mornings and for relaxing in the evening. The courts have wells, which were the main source of water. Most of them are dry and in disuse now. Larger courts were sometimes indoor gardens with lots of trees and fountains. Both terraces and courts are used for sleeping at night during the hot summer months. The court is surrounded with covered and semi-covered multifunctional rooms around it.

The house presents to the outside world high, windowless walls, interrupted only by a single entrance door. The court is the main source for light and ventilation for all these houses. The entry is mostly on one end of the house and indirect to provide maximum privacy from outsiders. Most houses have at least one room opening on to the street, which is used as a shop or a drawing room to be used mainly by the men. By and large there are two bays of rooms on two sides of the court with a semi-covered veranda preceding a room. The inner rooms are dark and usually without light and ventilation and used mostly for storage and less for living. The verandas are the most frequented place of the house. No rooms are marked for any particular activity. The use of these verandas and rooms change with the seasons and the changing movement of the sun, sunny spaces being used more in winters and shadier spaces being used in summers.

The other two sides have only one bay and house activities like the staircase, the kitchen and toilet, with some area being demarcated for animals and their fodder, storage space for wood and coal. All these spaces are located near the entrance whereas toilets are located on the side of service lanes for easy accessibility. All toilets have a separate bathroom and a separate latrine. Most latrines of this time are dry and are raised above the plinth height of the house. This additional height gives space underneath the seat to keep a bucket to collect the soil waste, which is then removed and cleaned by a sweeper from the service lane. All water from the bathroom and kitchen is drained out into the open drains along the streets. It is noteworthy that the development of the old city has been such that all water drains flow away from the settlements, through *nullahs* into the river. The first floor of the houses usually replicates the plan of the ground floor. Some differences can be observed in the planning of corner houses and houses facing main streets. The ground floor of the houses abutting the street is totally dedicated to shopping activities (Fig. 2.4).

Although Lucknow always had a larger Hindu population, Muslim influence has been greater on all its architecture. Strictly there should have been a marked difference between the house forms of the two communities because of varied lifestyles, but the overall structure of the house is fairly similar. The main difference lies in the size of the inner courts and the entry. Since Muslim women observe more *purdah*

the entries of the Muslim houses are more indirect with some extra transitional spaces. Also, their courts are much larger and are usually greener. Other than that only the religious spaces like *puja* spaces, mosques or *imambaras* are any indication of the religion of the owner.

Public spaces and public buildings

The residential areas of Nawabi time predominantly had a singular religion, caste, or creed. The identity of any *mohalla* was transformed into Hindu or Muslim, by the presence of a Mosque or a temple square complete with a *pipal* tree and well. There was no other difference amongst the areas, which were only segregated by streets or natural barriers. Today the segregation is not as strict. Beyond the private court, which is brightly sunlit, is the narrow dimly lit lane of the *mohalla* and the bustling *bazaar* street. There is a progressive loss of privacy and increase of public identity as one moves from the house to the main street.

A total lack of a central space is apparent and common spaces are common places are generated by a mere widening of the streets as it turns a corner or joins another street. Other than these social and communal activities were centred around religious places like temples, mosques, and imambaras, which were embedded within the residential areas or *mohallas.* Mosques and temples were built in the centre of large courtyards or open areas within these dense masses. There were

some more public buildings like orphanages, *serais*, and hospitals. Schools were usually a part of the religious complexes. All these buildings were similar in character and planning to the courtyard houses, only built covering a much larger area. Like the houses, these public buildings have a court in the centre with covered and semi-covered spaces around it. They are all joined to the adjoining buildings by common walls making them into one monolithic mass.

One example of a public building is the Firangi Mahal, which is a complex of structures embedded within the *Chowk* Street [11] (Fig. 2.5). Other important structures along the *chowk* street are Saudagar ka Imambara, Ram Mandir, and Darul Shafa. Some very important Imambaras embedded within the other parts of the 'old' city are Imambara Malka Jamania, Imambara Moghul Sahiba, and Deputy Saheb ka Imambara. Even the later and larger Imambaras like Asfi Imambara and Hussainabad Imambara retain this character of a built form which is carved out from a dense mass with blank outside walls and spaces built around a central courtyard.

Later developments to the south of the city show on close inspection that the density of the built mass of the city decreased and it became more geometrical with roads becoming wider and linear. The houses also become more geometrical and longer (Fig. 2.3). However, other than that the morphology of the 'old' city remained unchanged with common walls and living spaces organized around a court with

toilets opening onto a service lane is a character that continued to be used till the early twentieth century in the much later colonies like Narhi and New Hyderabad, with the only difference that the street structure and the plot sizes became more geometrical and regular with streets opening onto square gardens, a concept brought into Lucknow by the British. The oldest settlements do not have a regular or geometrical shape and often all the houses have a different shape and size as they developed organically as and when needed and depending on the space needed by the owners. However, this concept was totally abandoned by the planners of independent and modern India who developed the concept of plotting and tenements, an issue that will be discussed in the later chapters.

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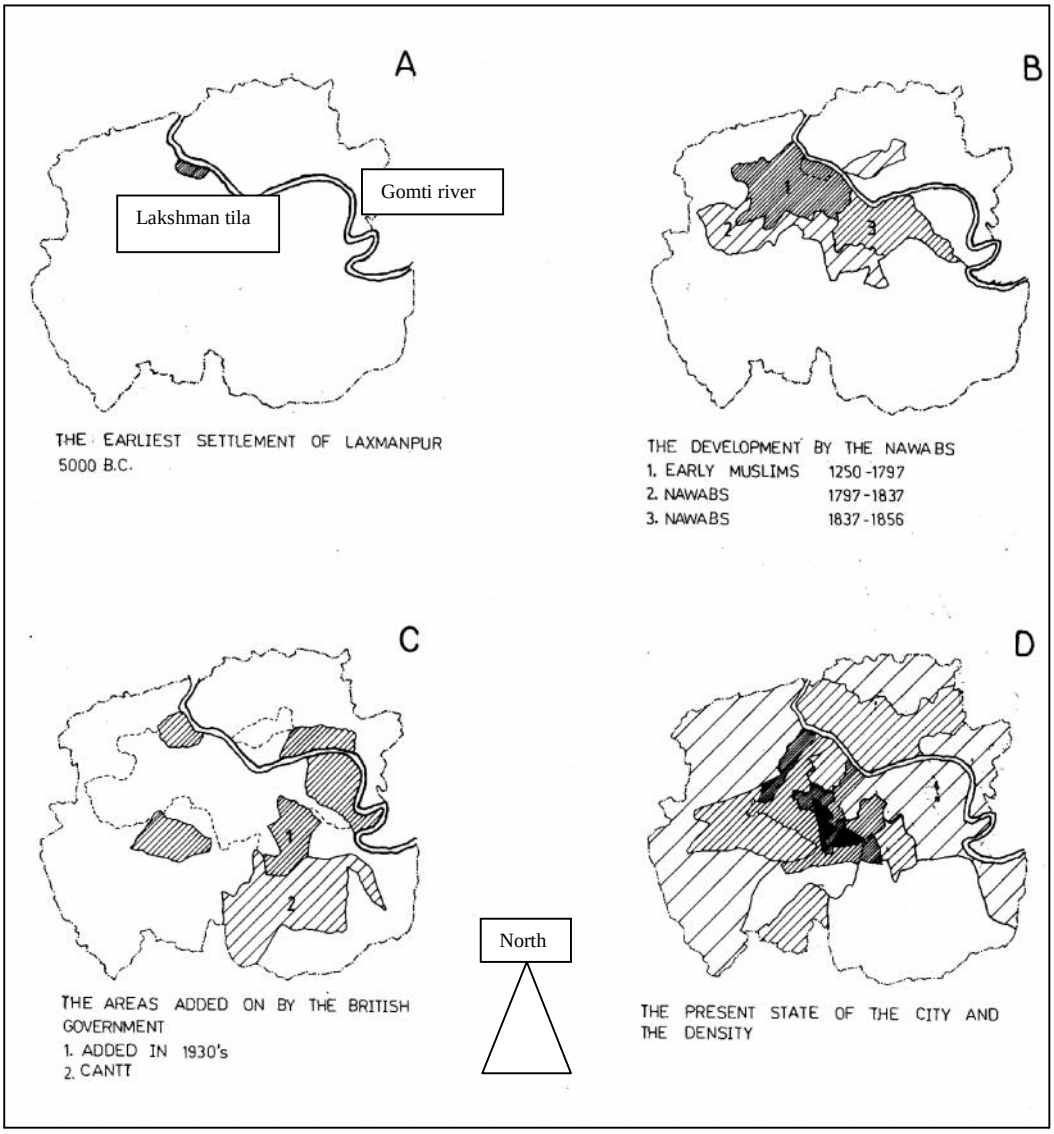
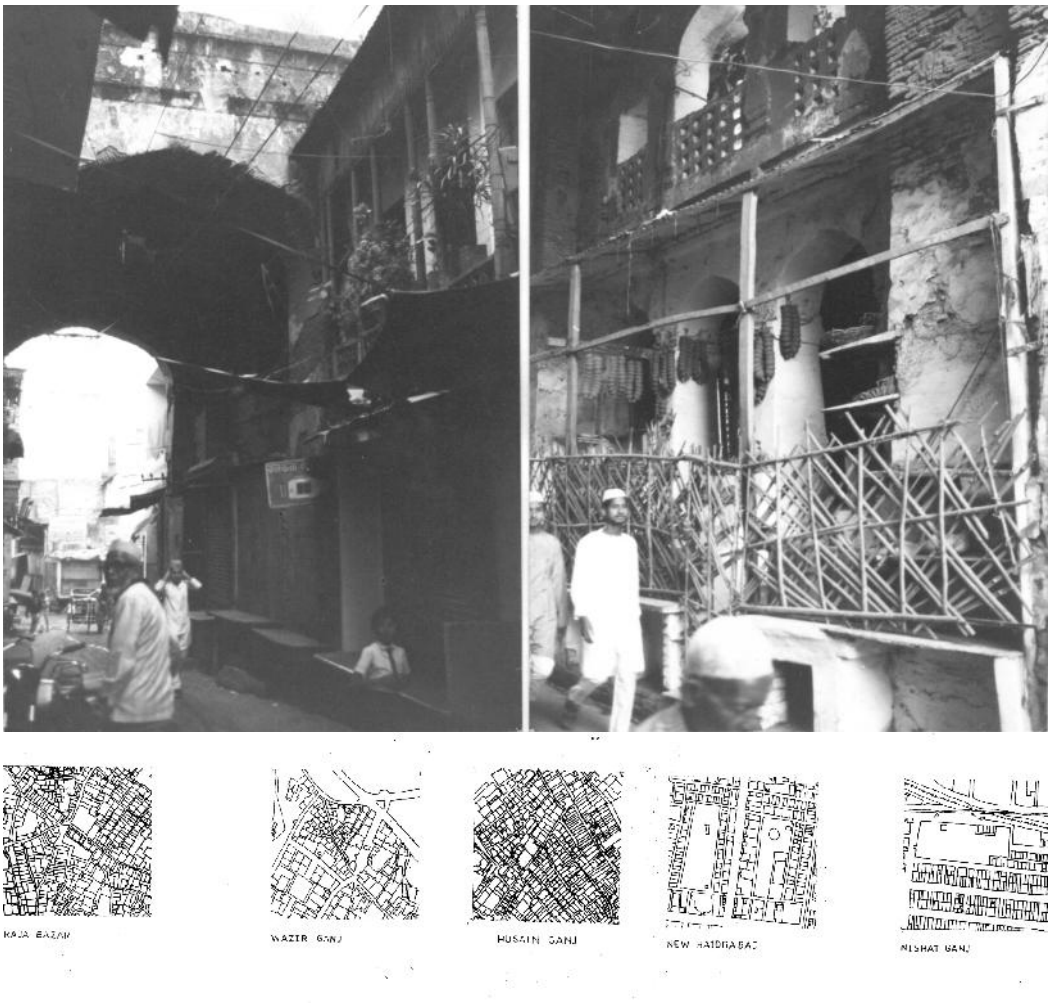
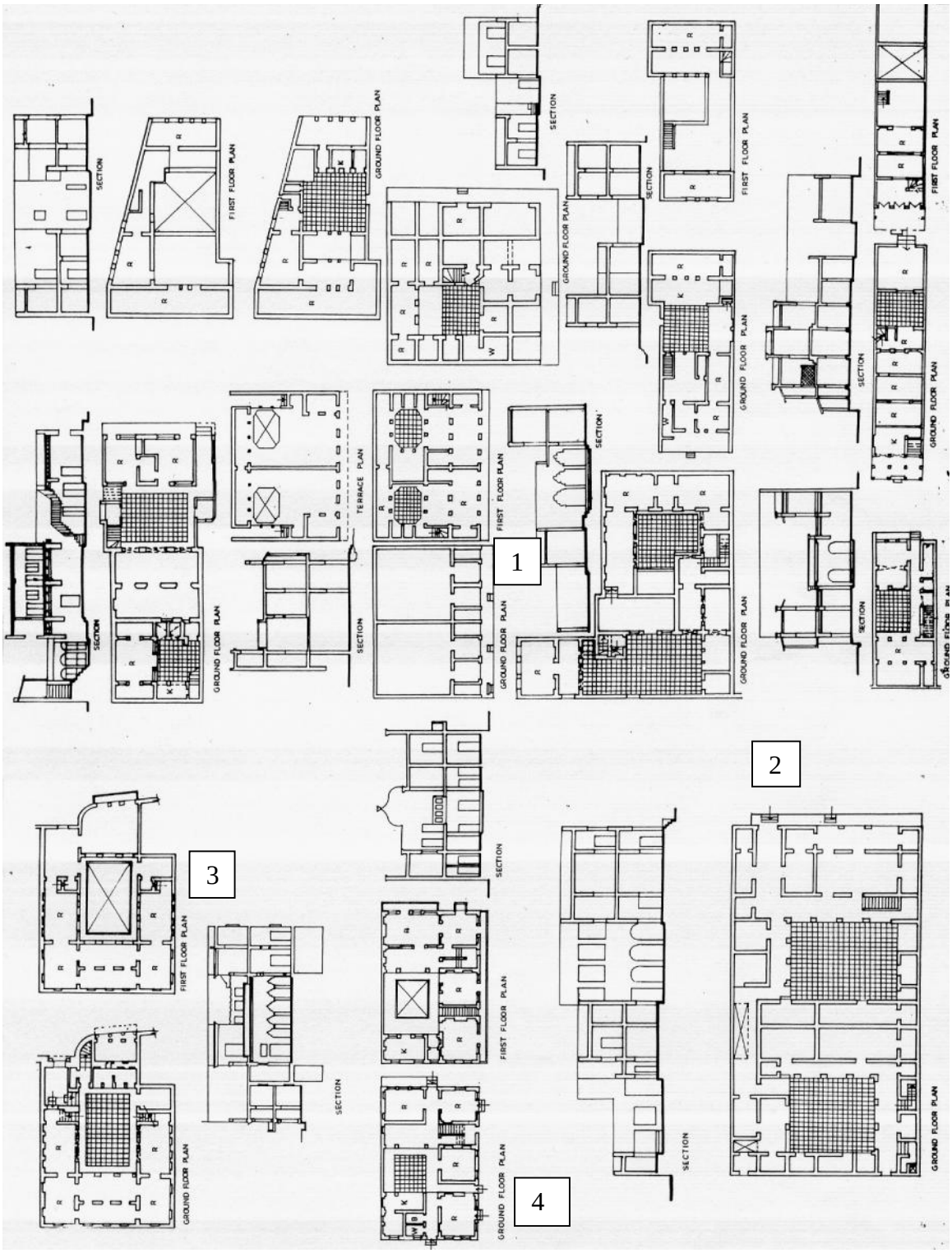
[1] H.N. Wright, op. cit., pg. 101
[2] History of Lucknow Cantonment, op. cit., pg. 64
[3] Lucknow Gazetteer, 1904, pg. 144
[4] There was one East India Company factory in Lucknow in mid 17th century, but it was a warehouse where goods produced in Awadh were collected before exported through Surat. The British weren't manufacturing anything themselves, therefore term factory used in a modern sense.
[5] History of Lucknow Cantonment, op. cit., pg. 64
[6] Veena Oldenburg. *The Making of Colonial Lucknow.* pg. 28
[7] Ibid. pg. 14
[8] Ibid. pg. 13
[9] Keith Hjortshoj. *Urban Structures and Transformations in Lucknow- India, p*g. 44
[10] R. R Kidwai. *Lucknow, The Lost Paradise.* pg. 35
[11] *See*: Francis Robinson, *The 'Ulama' of Farangi Mahal and Islamic Culture in South Asia*



2.1 Development of the city of Lucknow



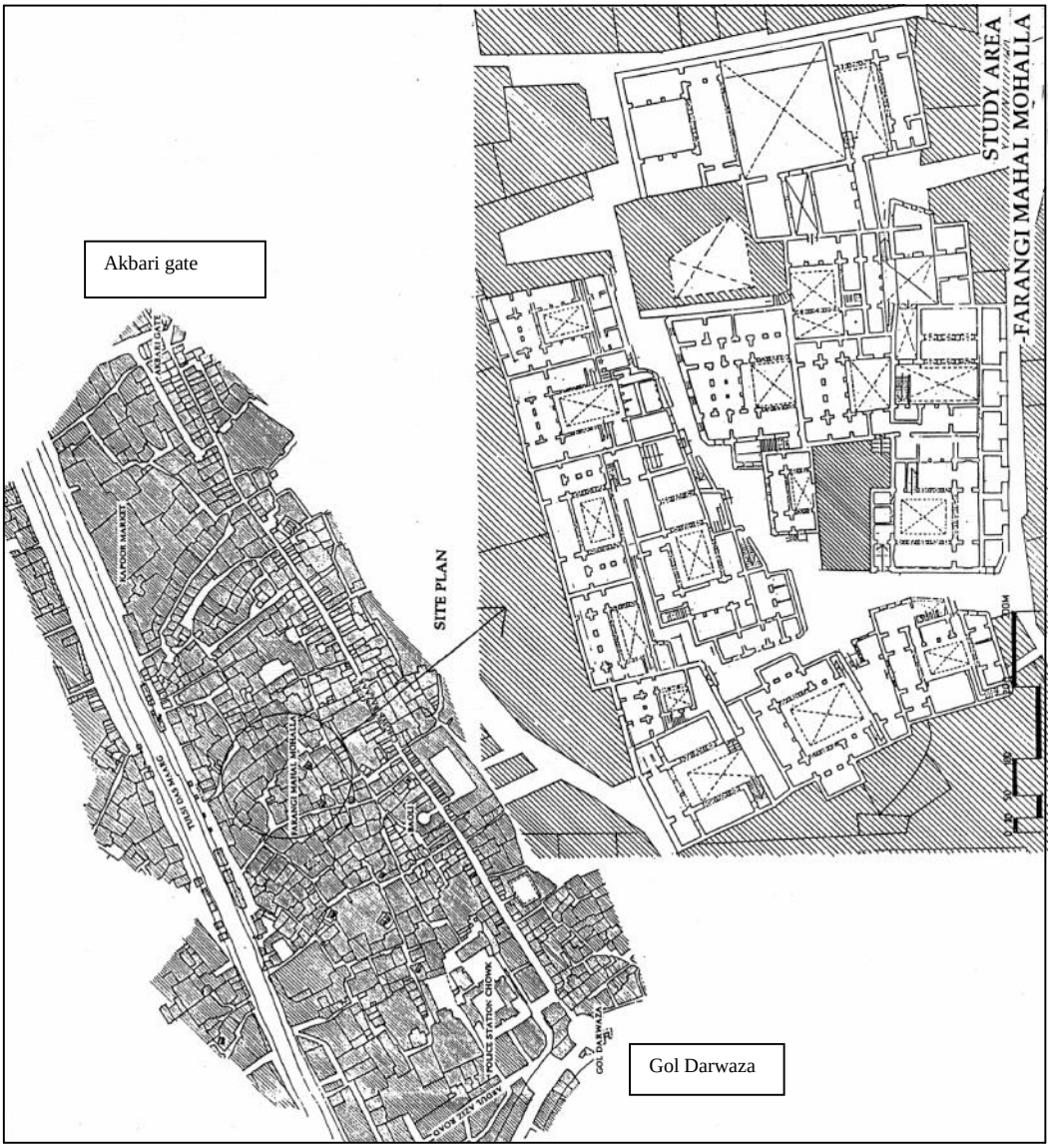
2.2 View of Akbari gate, Chowk, before renovation
2.3 Urban tissue of various parts of the city, Raja Bazaar being the oldest with an organic character and Nishat ganj being the latest



2.4 Collection of drawings of court houses in the old city

1 Shops on the ground floor of houses abutting the street
2 Bigger houses with two internal courts
3 A house in chowk with indirect entry
4 Early twentieth century house in Narahi

2.5 The Chowk street with Gol Darwaza on one end and Akbari gate on the other and an inset of Firangi Mahal area



Lucknow: The new capital and two complexes are made

When the capital of Awadh was shifted from Faizabad to Lucknow two new complexes were developed; Daulat Khana (1780-88), the palace of Nawab Asaf-ud-Daula and the Residency, the residence of the British Resident. Daulat Khana was situated on the northeast of the Machchi Bhawan Fort, and the Residency was situated to the south of the fort. When Asaf-ud-Daula came to Lucknow he initially stayed at the Machchi Bhawan fort, but moved out as soon as his palace complex was completed. Although the change of place of the Nawab meant that his great train of attendants moved too, the old fort was not left deserted and some members of the royal family stayed on. Viscount Valentia, visiting Lucknow in 1803, was accommodated in the old complex and visited the widow of Asaf-ud-Daula there.

Daulat Khana

Daulat Khana was bound on one side by marshy lands and the other side was bound by the river Gomti. It was a sprawling complex with many gardens, pavilions, tanks and palaces. It is difficult to imagine the whole complex as much of the complex was demolished and only a few of the buildings are still standing (Fig. 3.3 to 3.5). It was probably enclosed by a high wall with bastions on the four corners and contained

several buildings in it. Like the Macchi Bhawan it was a series of buildings interspersed with gardens and tanks (Fig. 3.1).

On entering the south gate one would find Asfi Kothi recognized with the round shape of its front verandah. Probably it was originally approached through a garden. Nawab Asaf-ud-Daula wished to have the 'plan of a house after the European taste, from an Officer of the East India Company.' An amateur architect Antoine Polier, a French advisor and court architect designed this building, and were completed in 1780. It formed the central building of Nawab Asaf-ud-Daula's Daulat Khana palace complex, which was completed in 1788/89. Asfi Kothi has a simple geometrical plan with a semi-circular colonnaded front portico. There is a double height central hall, which is surrounded by smaller rooms at two levels. Today it is difficult to imagine its original plan due to the numerous additions and alterations that have been done to the building (Fig. 3.2, 3.21).

Just behind it and at right angles to it, was the Mahalsara, which were the living quarters of the Nawab and his family. On the north of Asafi kothi was the Gend Khana. There was probably an Imambara, a mosque, a *zenana*, the Chandiwali baradari, and the Mehtab bagh.[1] In the complex were two tanks, remnants of which still remain. Today the palace has some remains of outer gates and walls. It is difficult to identify the old structures due to additions and alterations thus making it impossible to recreate the old complex.

The Residency

The other complex that had become important during the early Nawabs was the Residency. In October 1773, Governor General Warren Hastings proposed the appointment of a British Resident in the court of Shuja-ud-daula. Nathaniel Middleton was appointed in 1774 as Resident but later in the same year John Bristol replaced him. The Resident, along with the capital and the Nawab moved from Faizabad to Lucknow in 1775. His residential and official quarters came to be known as the Residency and were located on a mound to the south of the Gomti and east of Macchi Bhawan. The area is much higher than the surrounding land and thus held a commanding position. Although the 'Residency' was a single building, post 1857 the term appears for the whole area which had many more buildings and structures (Fig. 3.6 to 3.9).

The Sheikhzadas originally owned the site, but some time during the late 1770's Claude Martin (who was appointed Superintendent of the Nawab's arsenal in 1776) bought a considerable amount of land there. The remaining land was bought by the Nawabs later. On this site, Claude Martin and the Nawabs began buying and renting houses to members of the Resident's staff. By 1779, according to the records of Resident Middleton, the Residency grounds had bungalows with thatched outhouses. The next evidence available on the site's development is the pictorial and written description of Ozais Humphry, a British artist, who spent four and a half months in Lucknow in 1786. He stayed with company's accountant, John Wombwell, and his descriptions describe their house a pleasant one storied bungalow with a tiled veranda supported by plain wooden columns (Fig. 3.12). To one side were two

blank brick towers, no higher than the roof of the bungalow, containing the stairwell. Humphry's sketches show the area to be heavily wooded with some Muslim structures also. Only three distinguished buildings shown in Humphrey's sketches are double storied.[2]

Thus by 1786, the Residency was a well established and informal mixture of thatched houses, brick built bungalows with flat roofs like Dr. Fayrer's house, Muslim shrines and 'zenana' buildings like Begum wali kothi and it's Imambara, and a few other large buildings for the highest Company officials like the Banqueting hall, Treasury, and the Residency building itself (Fig. 3.9, 3.10, 3.11). Early visitors to the compound in around 1825 usually describe it as-" a sort of close, with good looking houses and small gardens round it and a barrack and a guard house at its entrance." Twenty years later, Dr. Hoffmeister wrote,

> " The street soon widened into a spacious square, a beautiful and verdant lawn and rich wood appeared before us on the other side of a lofty free stone arch. Passing through this gateway, we entered a sort of park, at the further extremity of which are several large yellow roughcast buildings. Flat roofs with massive balustrades, lofty colonnades surround plain quadrangle boxes, and carefully closed jalousies, characterised it as the dwelling of the British resident."

Between the larger private houses were metalled roads laid down around 1853, an unusual feature at that time. [3]

After the First war of Independence in 1857, the Residency compound took on a new face (Fig. 3.13 to 3.20). Not designed for defence, it was radically altered. The names of the buildings give an indication of the varied nature of activities within the compound and the self-sufficiency of the inhabitants. P.J.O. Taylor has given an elaborate description of the residency grounds. [4] He writes that if one started from the Watergate, so called simply because it gave access to the river Gomti, on the northern side, the line of defence ran along the irregular ridge at the higher level, protected by the slope and a somewhat low earth bank, with a shallow ditch on the outside. Between the Watergate and the Residency, was what came to be known as a Hospital, which was actually the Banqueting hall. The Banqueting house was 'another extensive building resembling the Residency but having only one upper storey and no tykhana.' The Residency building, as it appears in a sketch by William Hodges about 1786, was three storied high and yellow in colour with a colonnaded west front and a tower in one corner.[5] A ground plan of the Residency building shows a very complicated organization, which may be due to additions and changes over a period of time. It was surrounded by extensive gardens full of mango, cyprus, roses, and hibiscus trees. According to Taylor,

> 'The Residency was a beautiful brick building with lofty rooms and fine verandahs. It had an impressive three storeys plus a splendid tykhana[6] with skylights and cellar windows giving excellent light.
>
> Accommodation existed for 800 souls…There were little turrets leading

> up to a fine terrace whence a beautiful view of the whole city could be obtained. The Flagstaff and signal post were on top.
>
> The building stood upon the highest position. Along the west front was a wide, extended and lofty colonnaded verandah balanced by a handsome portico entrance on the east side. Spiral staircase inside the two turrets on the north and south side led to the roof…'

Then came the gateway, the former entrance to the compound known as the Ballie Guard with the Treasury alongside it (Fig 3.19). They were on a lower level than the Hospital, which towered above them. The gateway was strong and sturdy with solid wooden gates. The road through this gateway from the public road up to the Residency was a steep incline. To the south of the gate, was the wall of Dr. Fayrer's compound, which faced the Clock tower on Lutkun's Darwaza (Fig. 3.18). The clock itself was just a painted clock face. Dr. Fayrer's house was 'a fine commodious single storey building, raised on a considerable elevation with a terrace. It (also) had a flat roof and a large 'tykhana.' Remains of the house show that the 'tykhana' was not a complete basement but an outcome of the level differences between the front and back of the house (Fig. 3.10). Between the clock tower and Dr. Fayrer's residence was the Ballie Guard House, which was a 'single storied, verandahed building' (Fig. 3.16). Taylor further mentions the Financial garrison (Sanders Post as it was manned by Capt. Sanders) which a 'solid two storied' building, standing on 'higher ground and overlooking a spot where the outside road was low'. Beyond the Financial Garrison was Sago's house, a small single storied

building, and then ‘big two storied’ Germon’s post. ‘It was commanded in rear by the Post Office.’ Next came the Judicial Commissioner’s office usually named Ommaney’s house after it’s owner, a large two-storied building on high ground with a compound wall. Beyond this was Captain Anderson’s house, smaller two-storied structure on high ground. This was the southeast corner of the Residency compound (Fig. 3.7).

Moving to the west, the Cawnpore Battery came next which was constructed of earth and closely abutted on Duprat’s House (3.17). The latter was an undistinguished single storey building with a veranda fronting the outside, and along side, the next building housed the school of the boys of the Martiniere who were evacuated from Constantia. The building they occupied was later called La Martiniere Post. Facing it was the gate of the Begum Kothi and on it’s right, to the left of the Judicial Commissioners office was the Jailkhana. The Begum Kothi was the house of the granddaughter of Buksh Ally. It was one of the most extensive buildings of the compound.

> ‘A high arched gateway gave access to a double range of outhouses forming a square within a square. On the outside was an Imambara. Fine and lofty apartments were used by officers and others were cookhouses. The building had exceptionally deep foundations and appeared very high from outside. The magnificent upper storey was painted green and yellow- A Mosque was within the Kothi’.[7]

The King’s Hospital, probably marked as the Native Hospital on the map, ‘was a commanding and striking looking building particularly on the south front,

where the massive outer wall rose to a height which overlooked all neighbouring buildings.' Behind the main building were two smaller ones called the first and second squares. The building was used as a Mess and thus came to known as the Brigade Mess (Fig. 3.17). Johannes house stood opposite to the mess. Next were two square enclosures surrounded by low flat roofed buildings, which were termed as Seikh Squares because they were occupied by the Seikh cavalry. This was the south-west end of the Residency compound and was very near the 'native buildings'.

Since Taylor has defined the Residency as it was during the 'siege' he continues to write that 'from the Seikh squares, the defence line went onto Gubbins House (Financial Commissioner)' which had a broadway leading to it's gate. 'A wall was built across the land connecting Gubbins enclosure with Ommaney's.' Next to Gubbins house was a high square flat roofed building 'of a native' which subsequently got the name Grant Bastion (Fig. 3.15). The building along the way was the Slaughter house. There was a guard of Europeans and bullocks were kept on the Racket court. The next north-west post was called the Sheep house, which was on a high ground. From there the ground sank rapidly, so that the 'Church and its whole enclosure (which became the Graveyard) lay much below the road.' The Church was 'a Gothic building with twenty low steeples' (Fig. 3.14). Built around 1845 it was 'well shaded by trees and surrounded by a wall, it had no churchyard for the good reason that India did not bury her dead near the churches in those days. The east window was an imitation, likewise the side aisles which were verandas where stood the punkah coolies. The church held a hundred people.' Next to

the Church were the Evan's Battery, the Innes post, and the Redan Battery, the extreme post on the north-east. This was a single storied, flat roofed house of Lt Macleod Innes of the Engineers.[8]

Thus, from maps and plans made after the siege it can be estimated that there were at least eighteen major buildings, including ten private houses and many out buildings. There were also a number of houses belonging to the Indians. The names of the buildings give an indication of the varied nature of activities within the complex and the self-sufficiency of the inhabitants. There was the sheep house, the slaughterhouse, the two Sikh squares, the horse square, the post office, the barracks, the brigade mess, the racket court, the native hospital, the school, the Banqueting hall, the church, the two mosques, and the Residency.[9] Nearby there existed the Captain Bazaar (Fig. 3.13). The Residency grounds had a variety of buildings, both in function and in their architectural style. Whereas the functions included all those that were necessary for a British community, it is their architectural vocabulary, which is very interesting. There were three types of structures in the complex; *kutcha* or brick bungalows with flat of thatched roofs, Muslim mosques or Imambaras for the locals in the Islamic vocabulary, and the official structures in the European Classical style.

Today, the Residency grounds are under the Archaeological Survey of India. The whole mound is green with lush trees and manicured gardens. Within this greenery some buildings stand out proudly with bullet marks. Very few have roofs and most of them do not have any plaster left. Only part of the main Residency building is intact and it houses a museum today. Other

buildings that exist, although partially, are the Bailey guard gate, the Treasury, the Banqueting hall, plinth of the church, the graveyard, Begum Kothi and its mosque and Imambara, Dr Fayrer's house, and some structures at the back which may have been the Sikh squares and the barracks.

Recent excavations have unearthed an elaborate drainage system made out of *lakhori* bricks which starts from near these barracks, moves down to the Fayrer house, turning right from there and out of the grounds. Remains of the barracks and the Sikh square indicate that this was the disposal system of the public toilets and baths used by the soldiers. The masonary pipes have openings at regular interval for cleaning and inspection. The toilets are situated on the highest part of the mound and then move down the slope.

For the British who had come to India as traders, the tropical climate was something, which needed getting used to. An English man had once commented to his countryman that 'the great peculiarity of the tropical climate was that it was very hot there, and the one point an architect must never forget'. He further added that it was also very 'light', meaning sunny, and very 'wet' there. Tropics, it must be remembered was not just a climatic zone but also a cultural zone for the foreigners. Therefore, as much as protection from climate was important, creating a familiar environment was also an important need for them.

Thus the first building that the British developed was a house that suited their culture, was closest to what they were used to back home, and something that could give protection from the climate. The most suitable answer for them did not lie in the courthouses of traditional India but in a simple village hut,

with mud walls, thatched roofs, and an enclosure in the front. This *kutcha* bungalow developed from a simple hut to the impressive building within a large compound now a common sight mostly in the cantonment areas. Not only was the prospect of staying in a courthouse daunting for the foreigners, the dense labyrinthine character of the settlement made them uneasy and scared. So a need for safety, prompted the British to develop separate residential areas at safe distance from the old city. It should be noted that segregation not only suggested safety but also helped create a familiar surrounding for these nostalgic foreigners. This familiarity was further reinforced by the use of 'European' styles with a medley of images, transported to India by the British which had no one specific order or system except those that were substantiated by memory, photographs and drawing.

So even though the Residency complex was not designed with large bastions and fort walls, it was still solving the purpose of defense by segregation and its location on a hillock. It was also solving their desire for cleanliness and sanitation, as the waste water could drain away from the hilly site. There developed within this enclosure, a mix of buildings, which were, thatched mud houses or flat roofed bungalows with small patches of gardens. Local inhabitants continued to make buildings that were appropriate to their style of living, church was in the familiar Gothic style, whereas the official buildings were in 'Classical European' style.

The Residency, as does the Daulat Khana, present a new phase in the architecture of Lucknow. Unlike the Machchi Bhawan fort, which was designed for defense, both these complexes were not designed for fighting

wars and unlike the ‘old’ city, which had an organic, yet homogeneous character, these two complexes were informal and heterogeneous. It is also relevant at this point to elaborate upon both the indigenous culture of Lucknow and the infiltrating European influences of the later eighteenth century. By the end of the eighteenth century, the Nawabi court included Europeans who had come as soldiers, traders, East India Company officials or just hangers-on who were attracted by the opulent court. The presence of these foreigners resulted in a considerable amount of Europeanization at the court of the Nawabs. This European influence exhibited itself in dress, entertainment, furnishings, and architecture.

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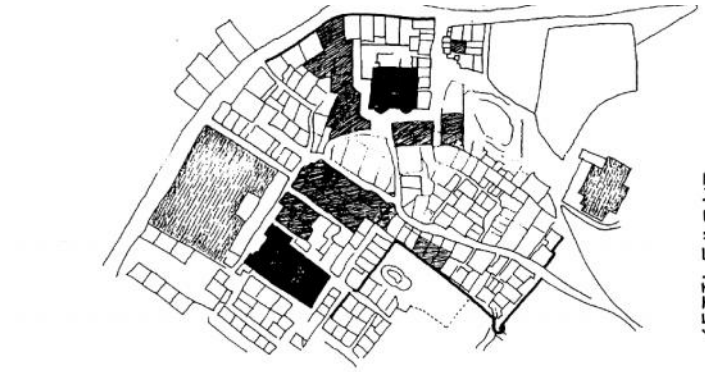
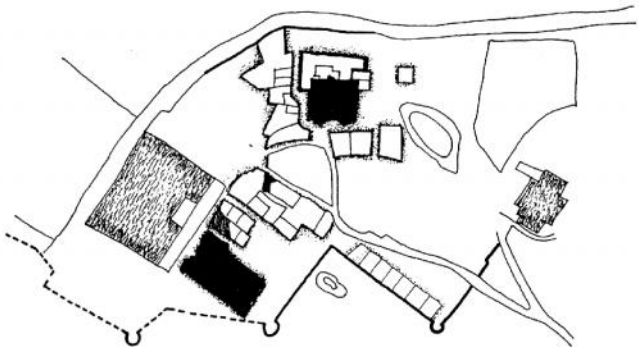
[1] Rosie L. Jones, op. cit. pg. 180
[2] ibid. pg. 93
[3] ibid., pg. 109
[4] Taylor, P.J.O. *A Feeling of Quiet Power.* pg. 3
[5] Sidney Hay, *Historic Lucknow,* pg. 60
[6] *tykhana*-basement
[7] Taylor, op. cit, pg. 9
[8] ibid., pg. 10
[9] Rosie L. Jones, op. cit., pg. 93



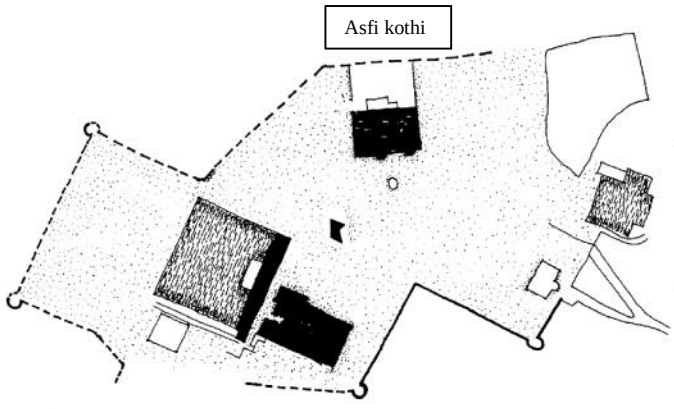
SETTLEMENT, 1998

NOW-A-DAYS SETTLEMENT HAS TAKEN THE ORGANIC SHAPE AS NUCLEUS OF SETTLEMENTS ARE THE OLD BRICK STRUCTURES.



SETTLEMENT, 1850

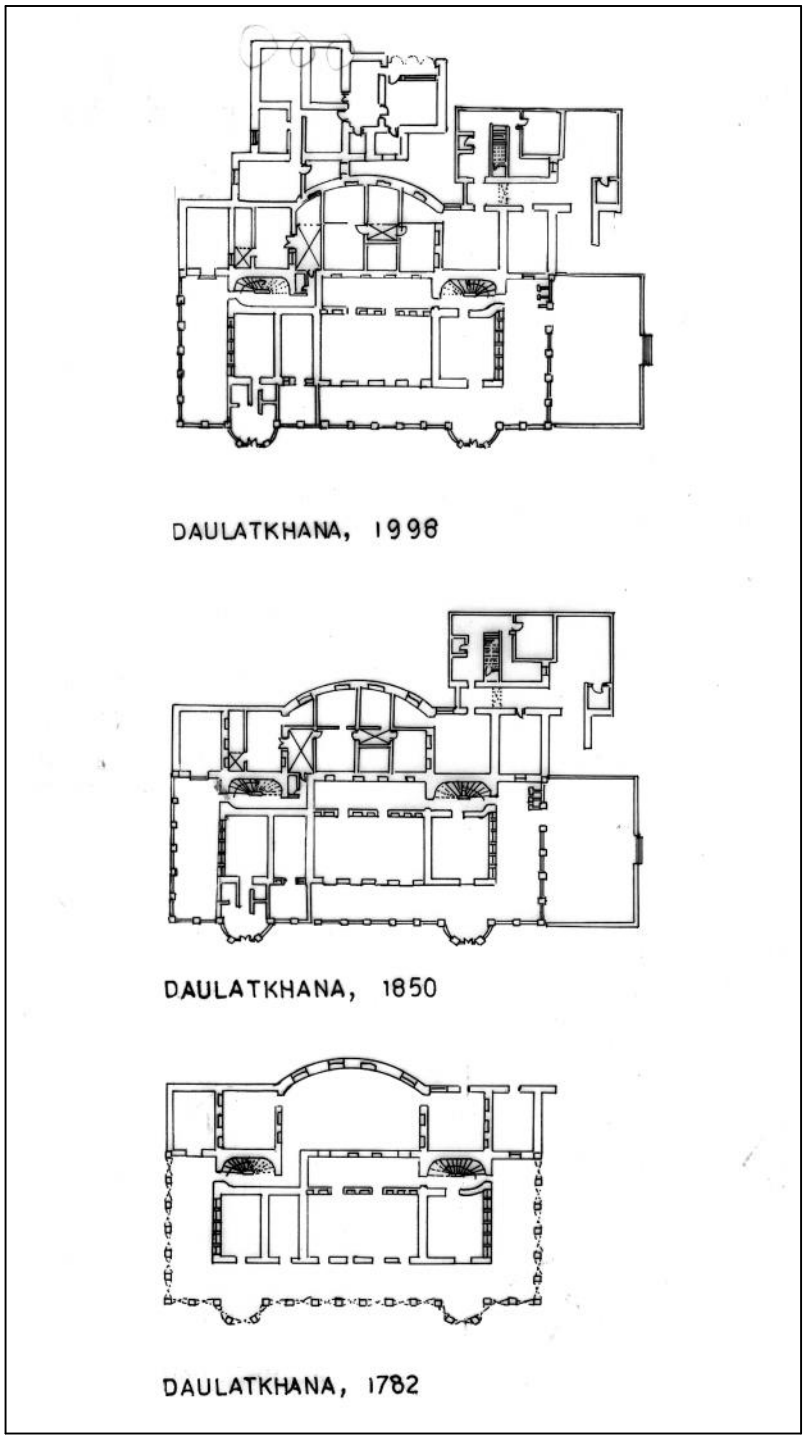
TILL 1850, DECENDENTS OF NAWABS & GUARDS HAVE STARTED CONSTRUCTING THEIR HOMES AROUND THE BUILT STRUCTURES.



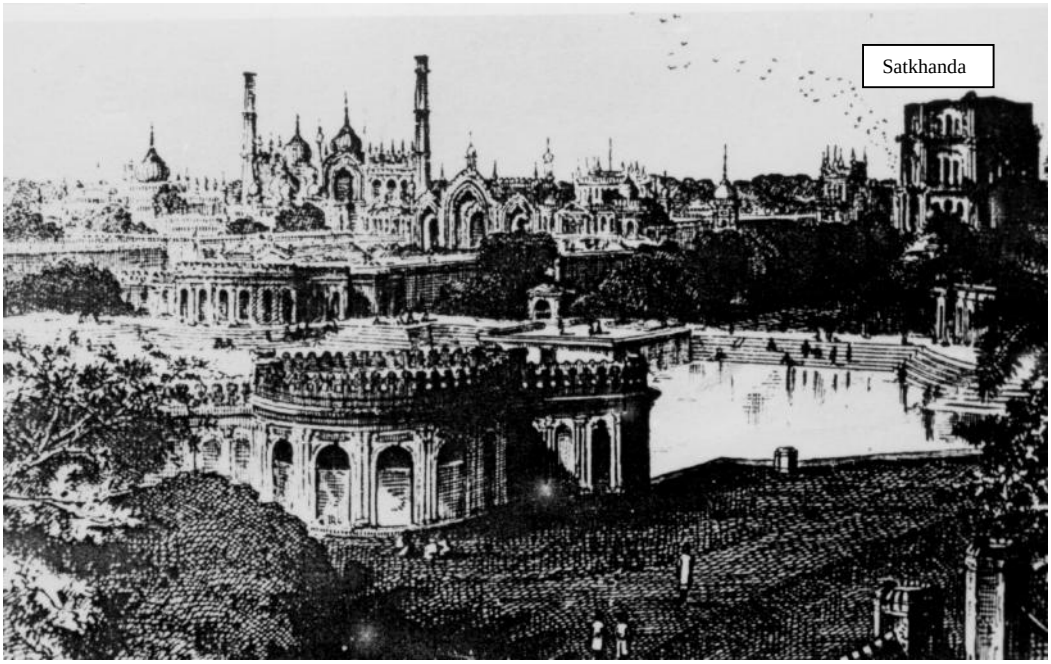
SETTLEMENT, 1782

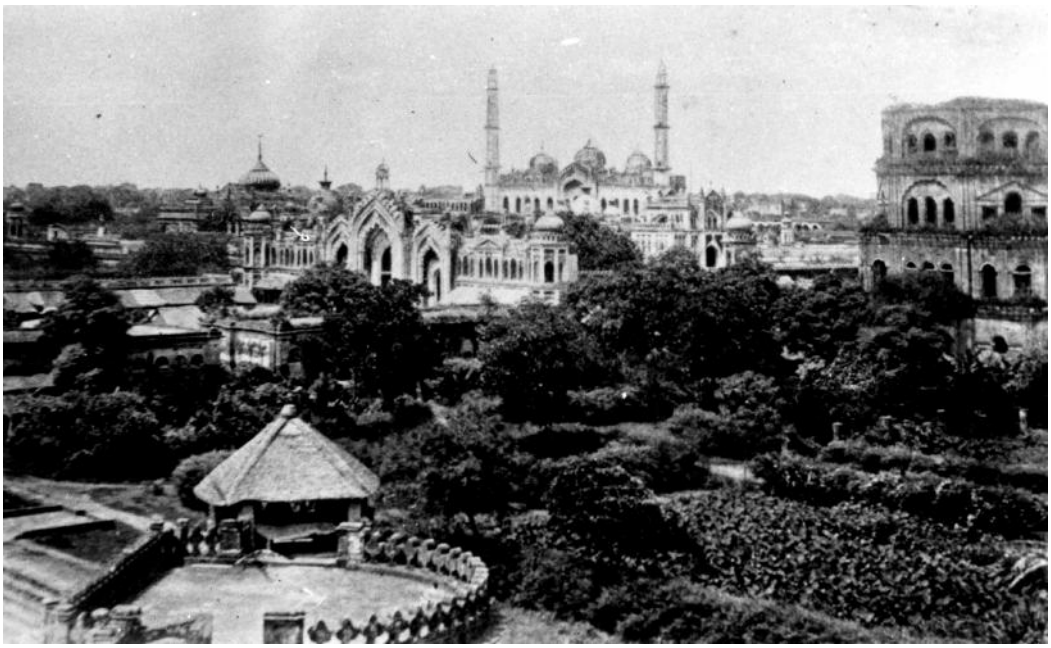
PALACE COMPLEX WAS CONSTRUCTED BY NAWAB ASAF-UD-DAULA IN 1782. AT THAT TIME IT CONTAINED BARADARI TANKS, GOL KOTHI & DAULAT-KHANA PALACE.

3.1 Daulat Khana

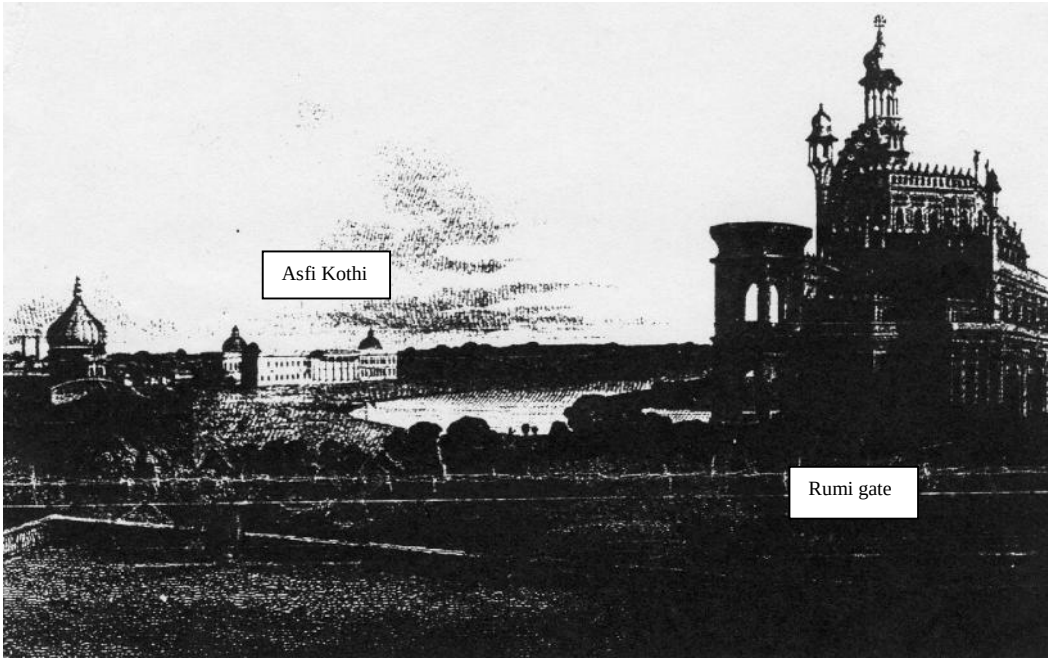


3.2 Additions and changes in Asfi kothi, Daulat Khana complex

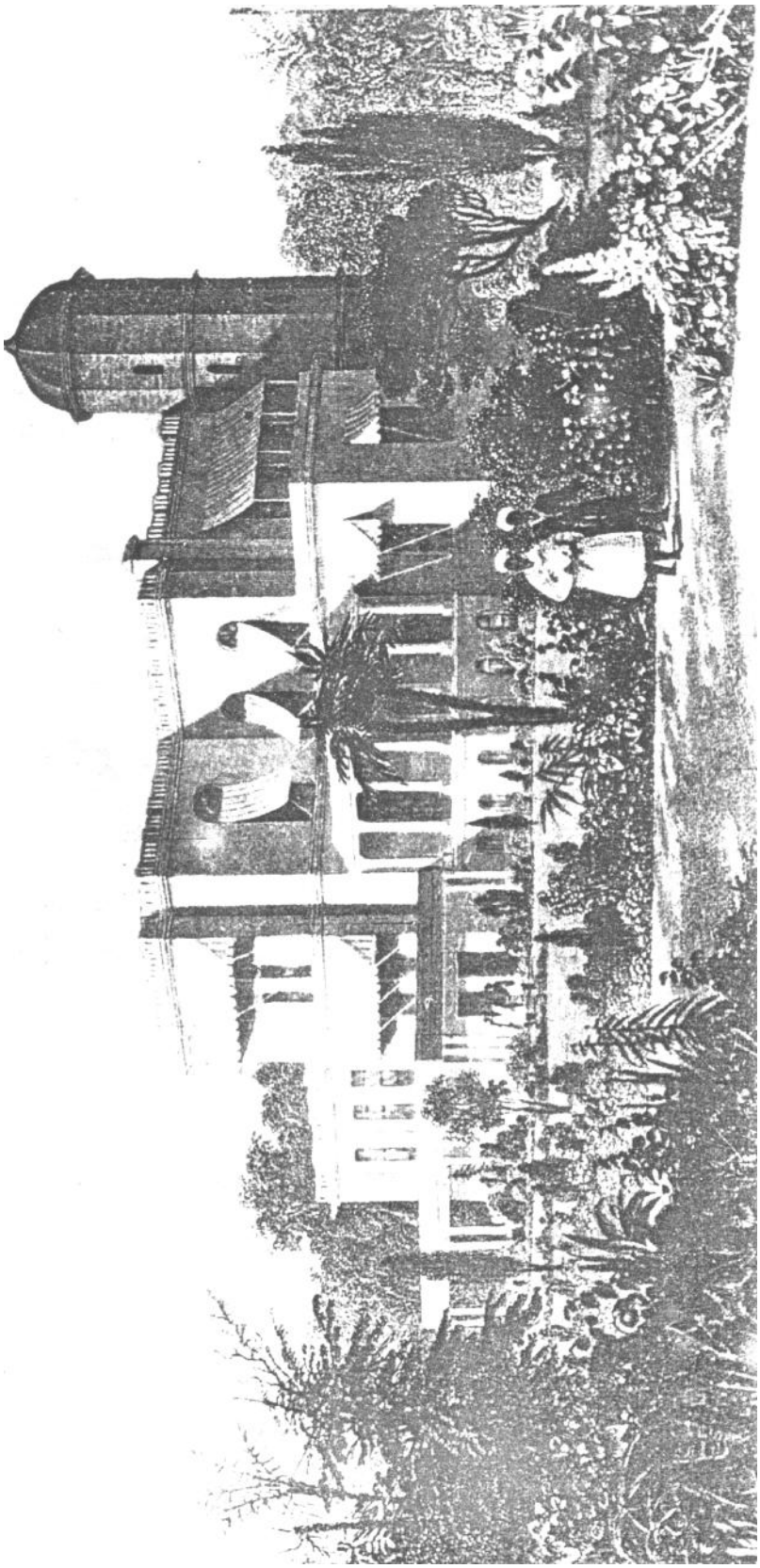




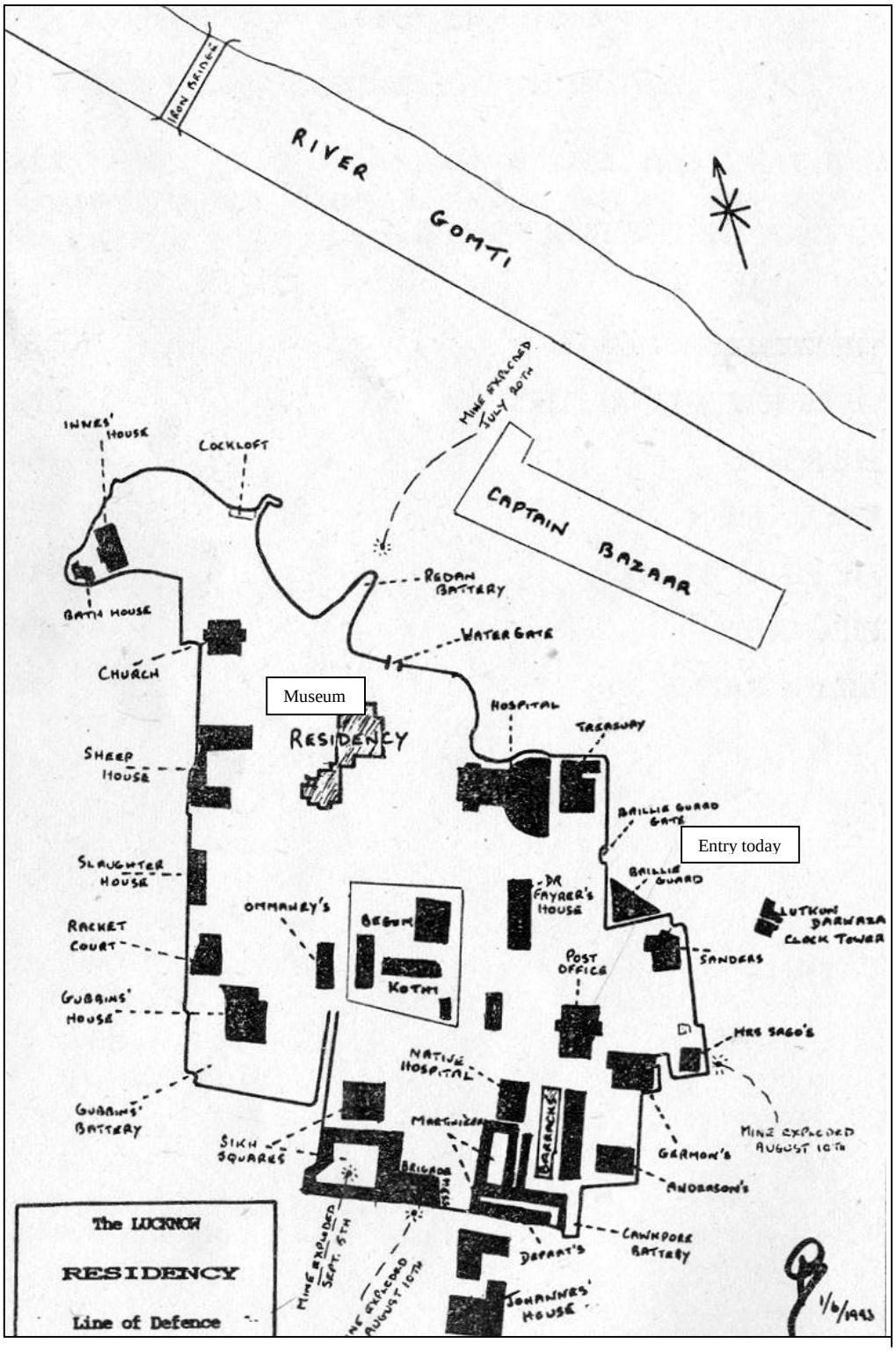
3.3 and 3.4 Views of Hussainabad Imambara and Satkhanda from Daulat Khana



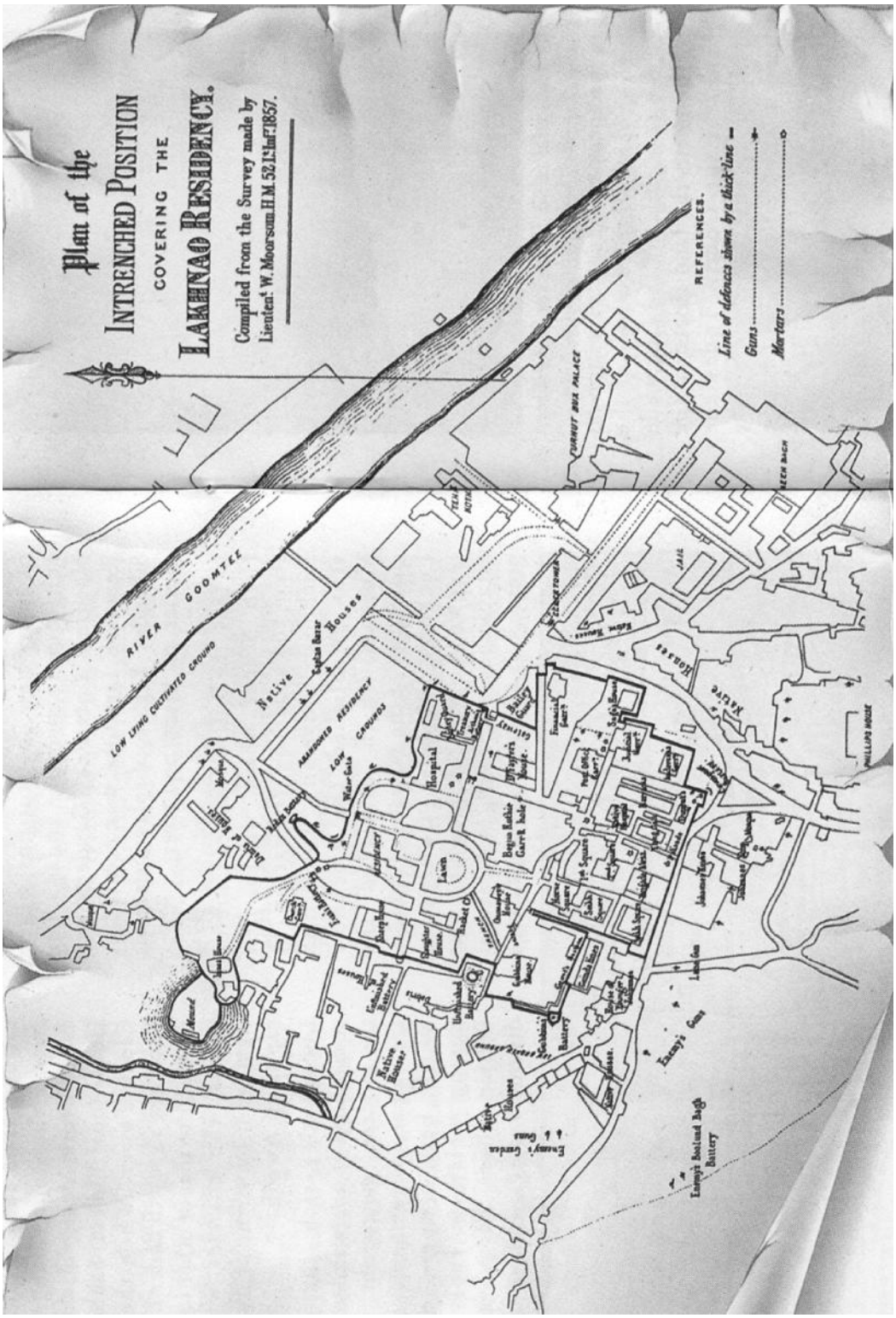
3.5 Etching of Daulat Khana by Heath and Salt



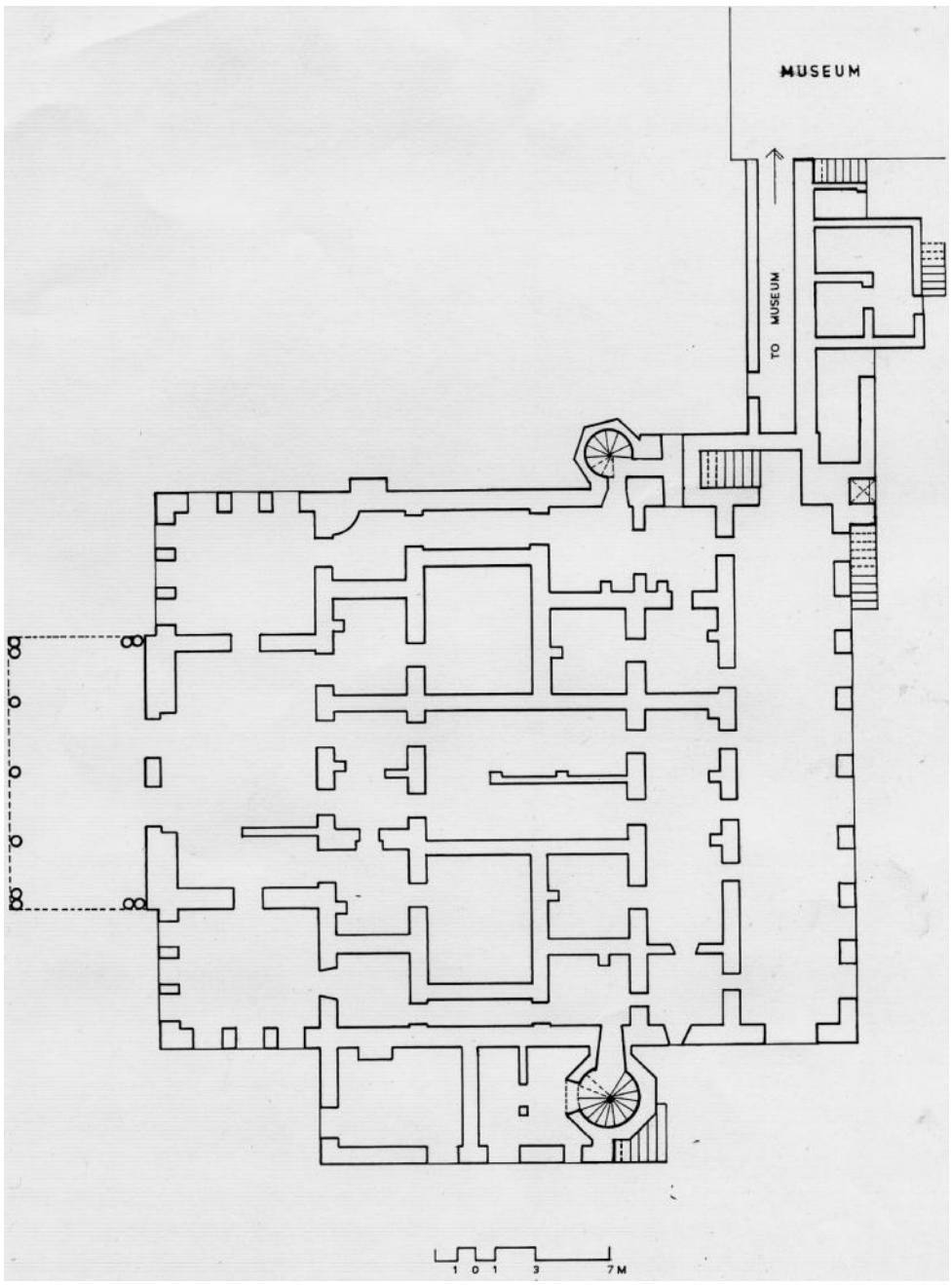
3.6 A view of the Residency building



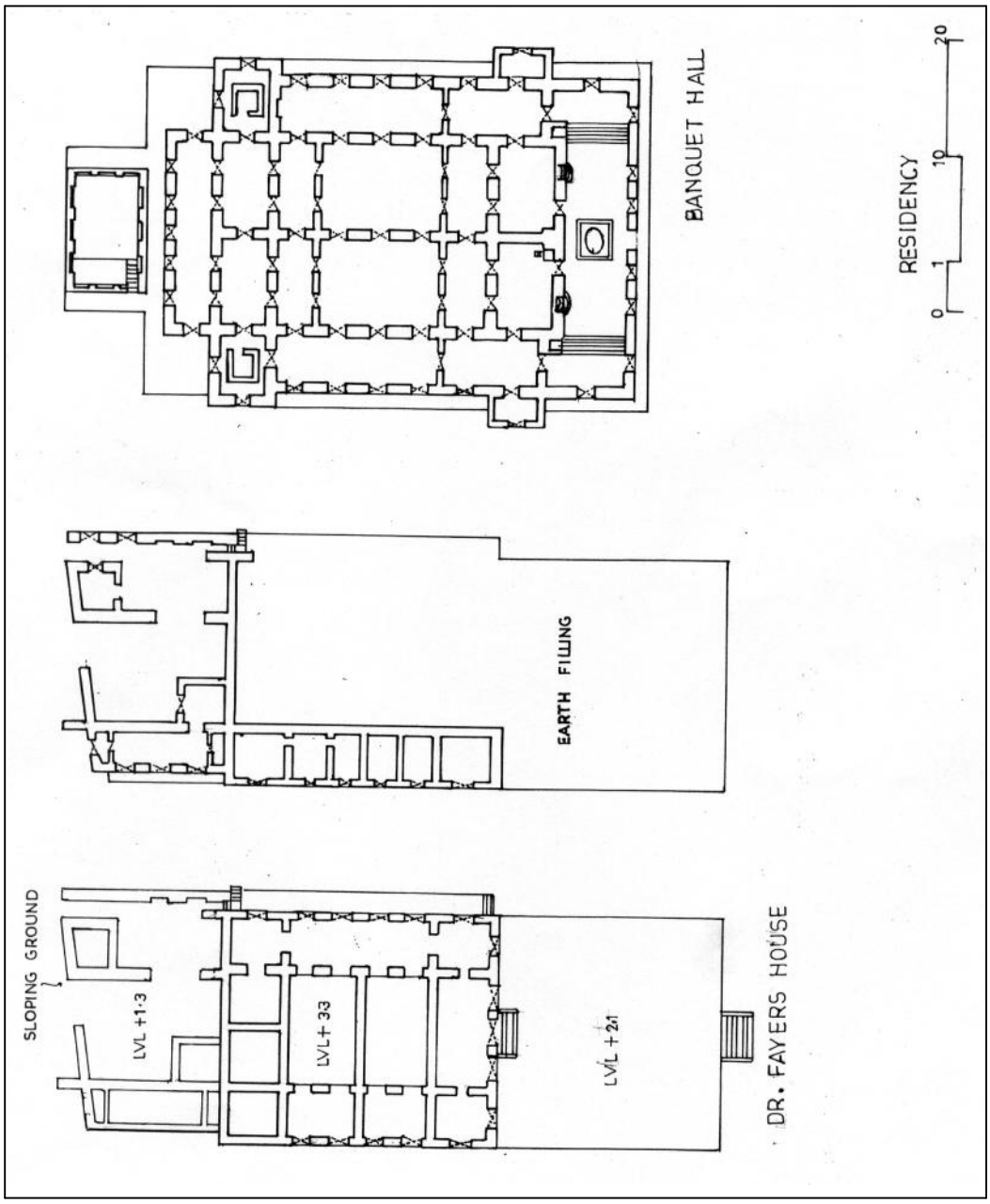
3.7 A Map of the Residency drawn after the First war of Independence



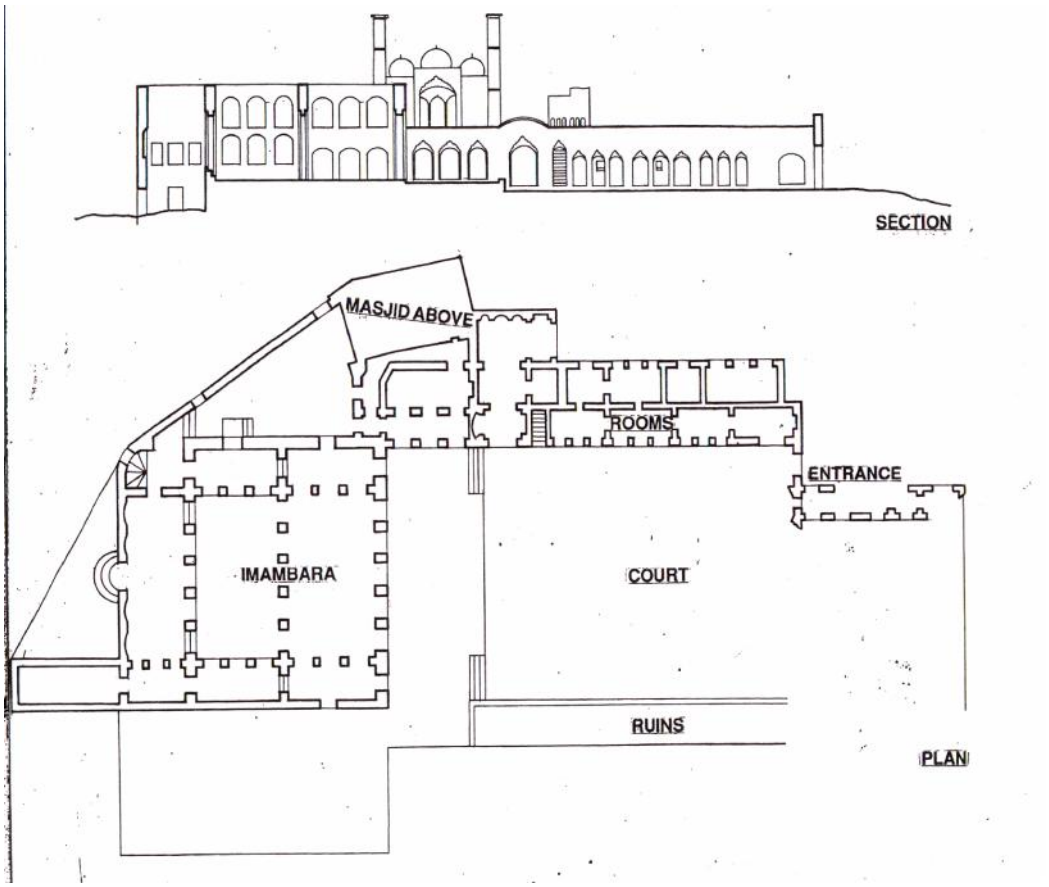
3.8 Map of Residency



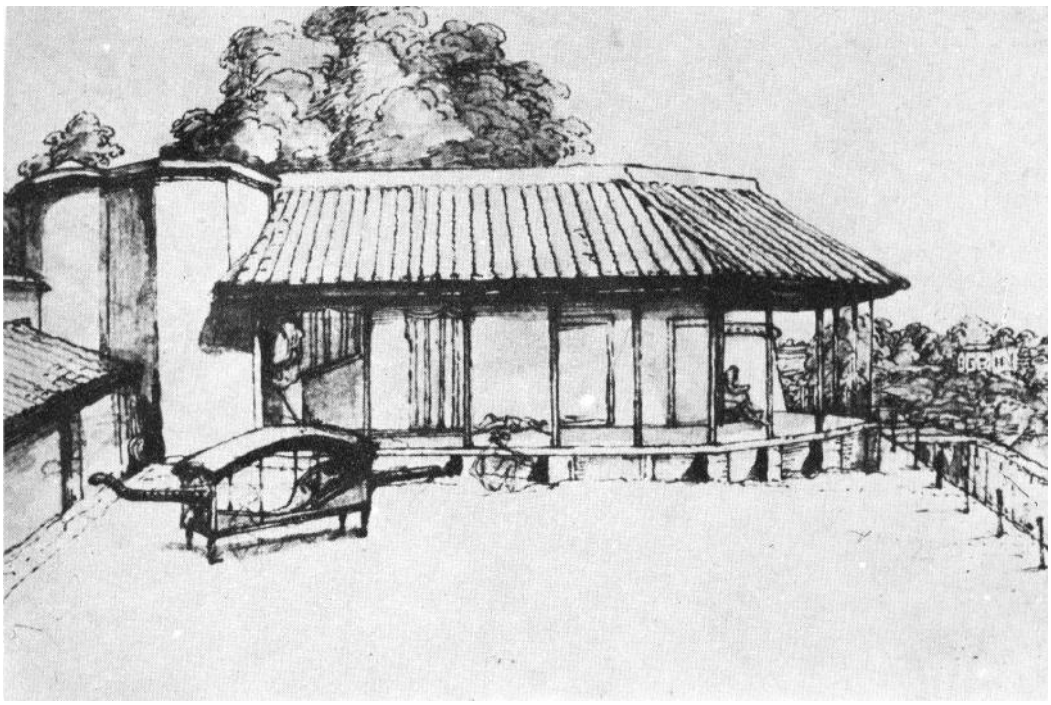
3.9 Ground plan of the Residency building, now in ruins



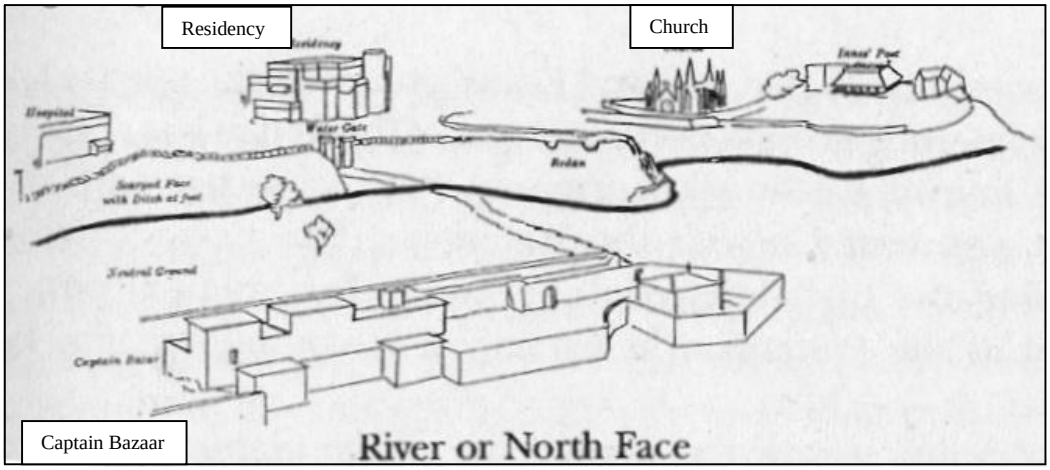
3.10 Floor plan of the Banquet hall and Dr. Frayer's residence



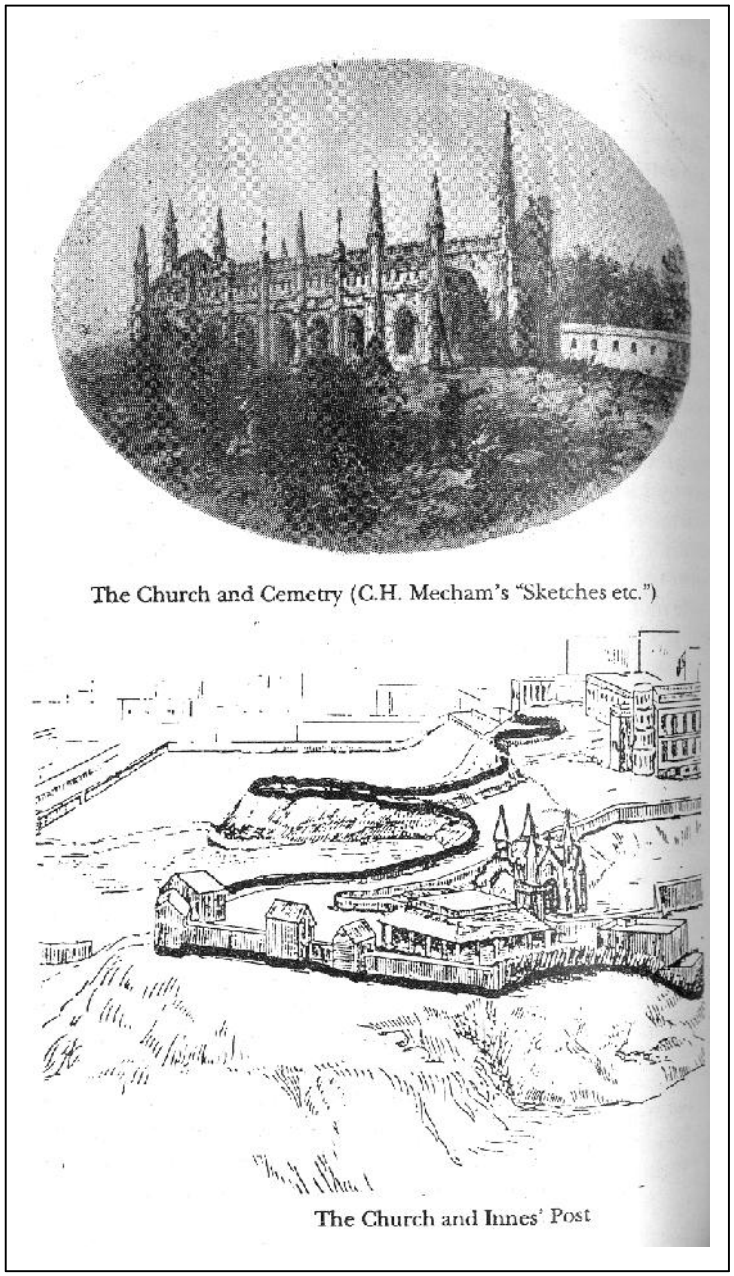
3.11 Plan of the Begum wali kothi complex with the house, outhouses, Imambara, and mosque



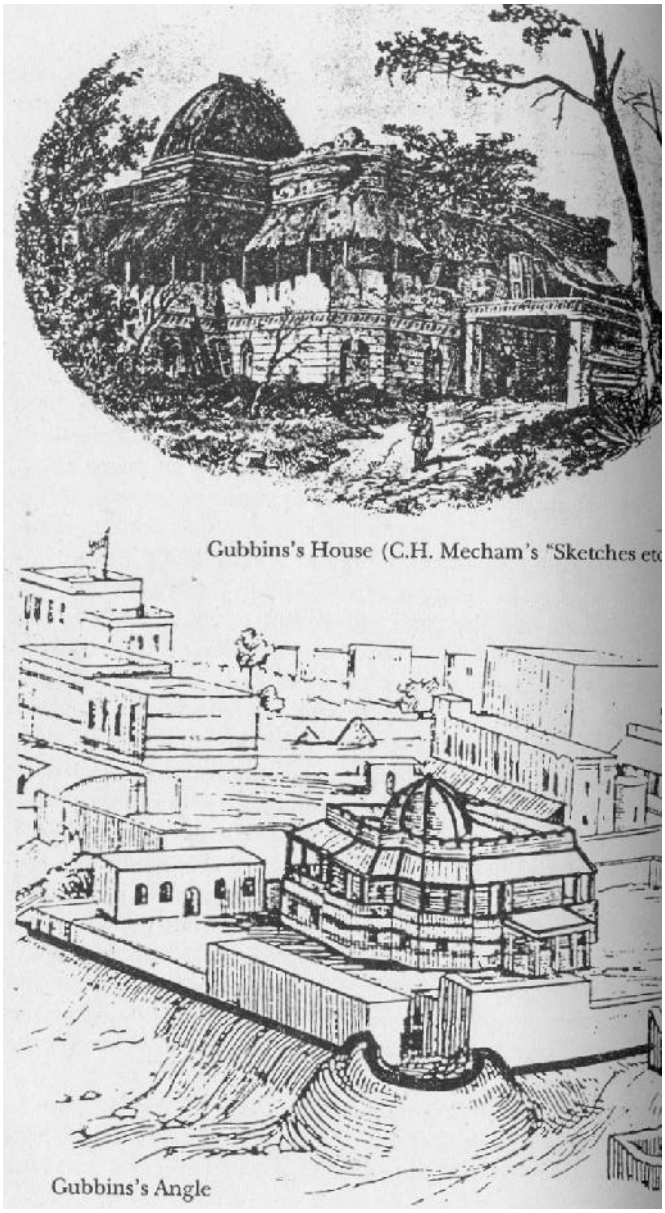
3.12 John Wombell's 'hut' like bungalow



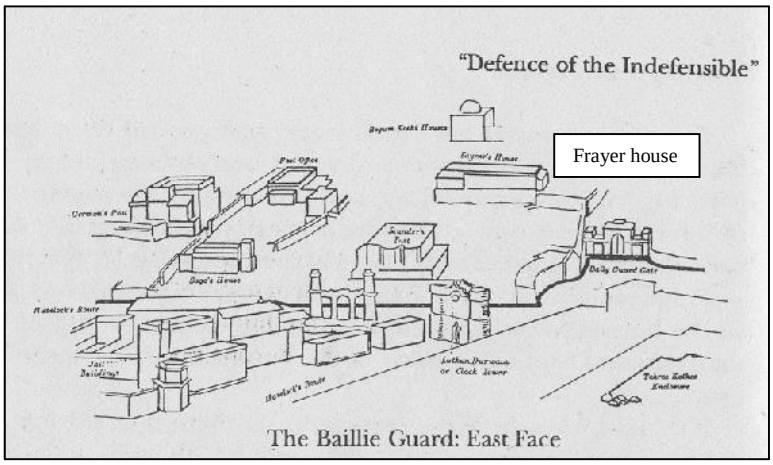
3.13 Residency from the north side

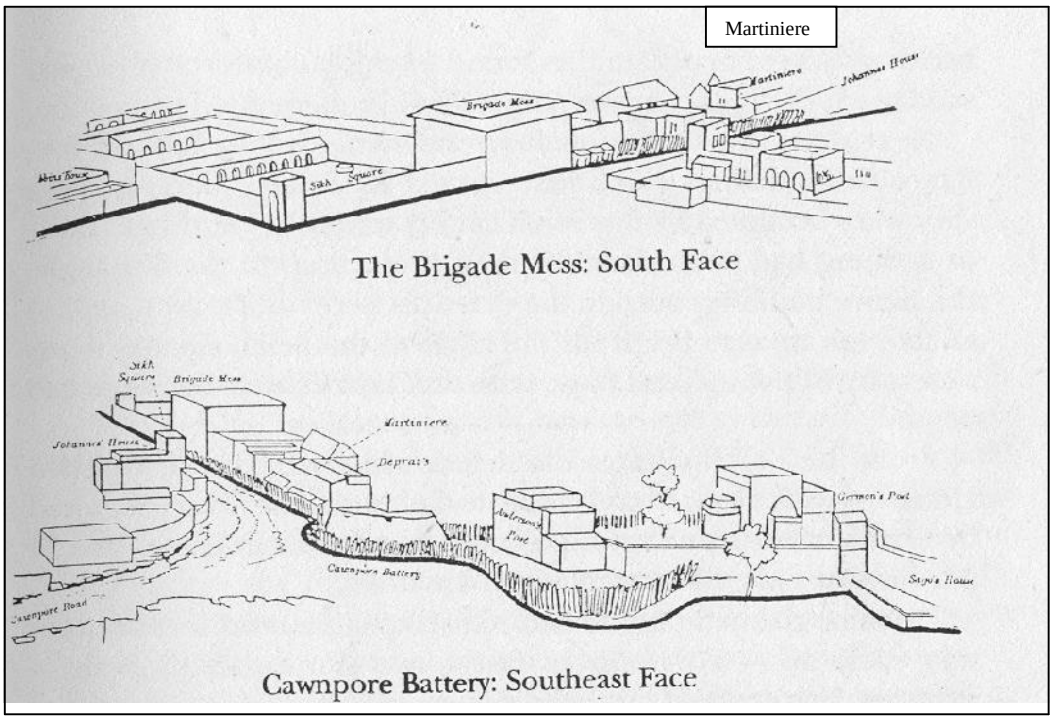


3.14 Church in the Gothic style and its location named as Innes post after the war

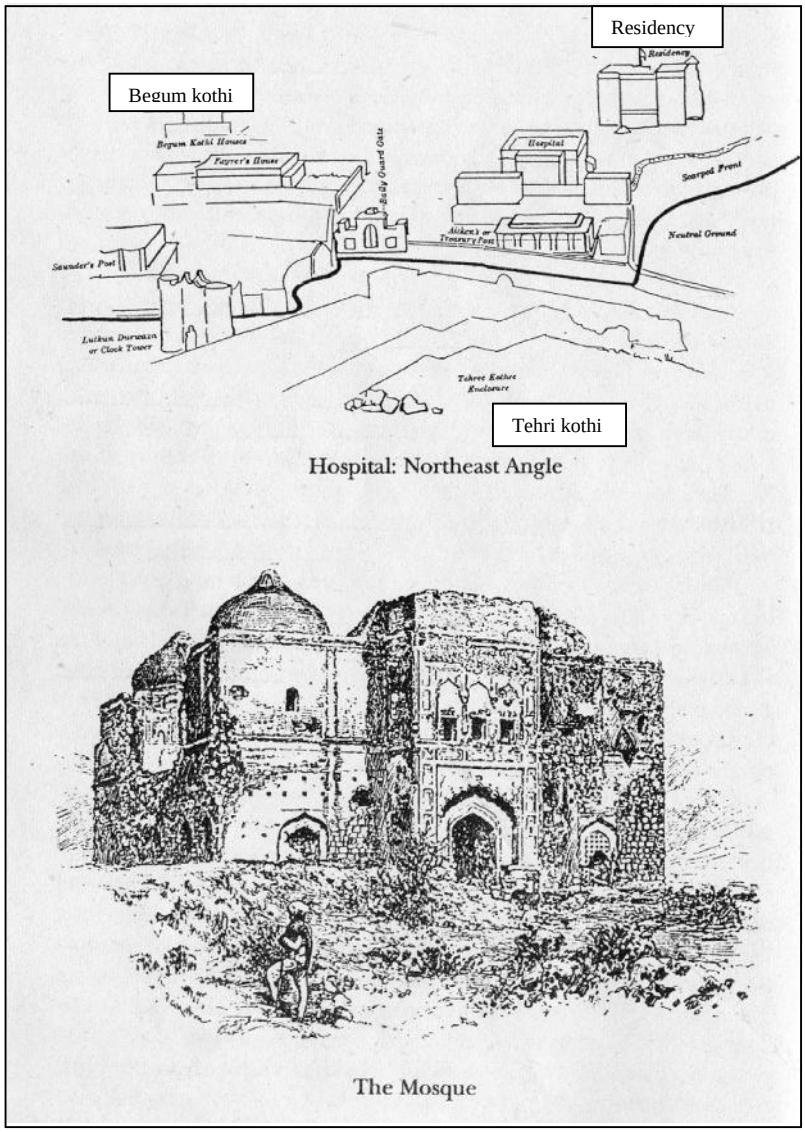


3.15 Sketch of Gubbin's house and location

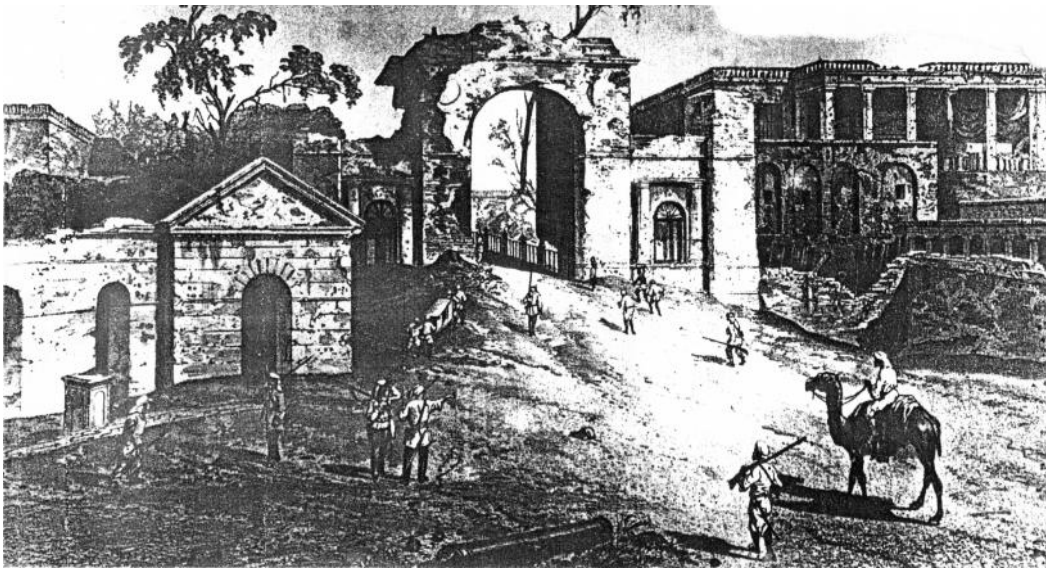




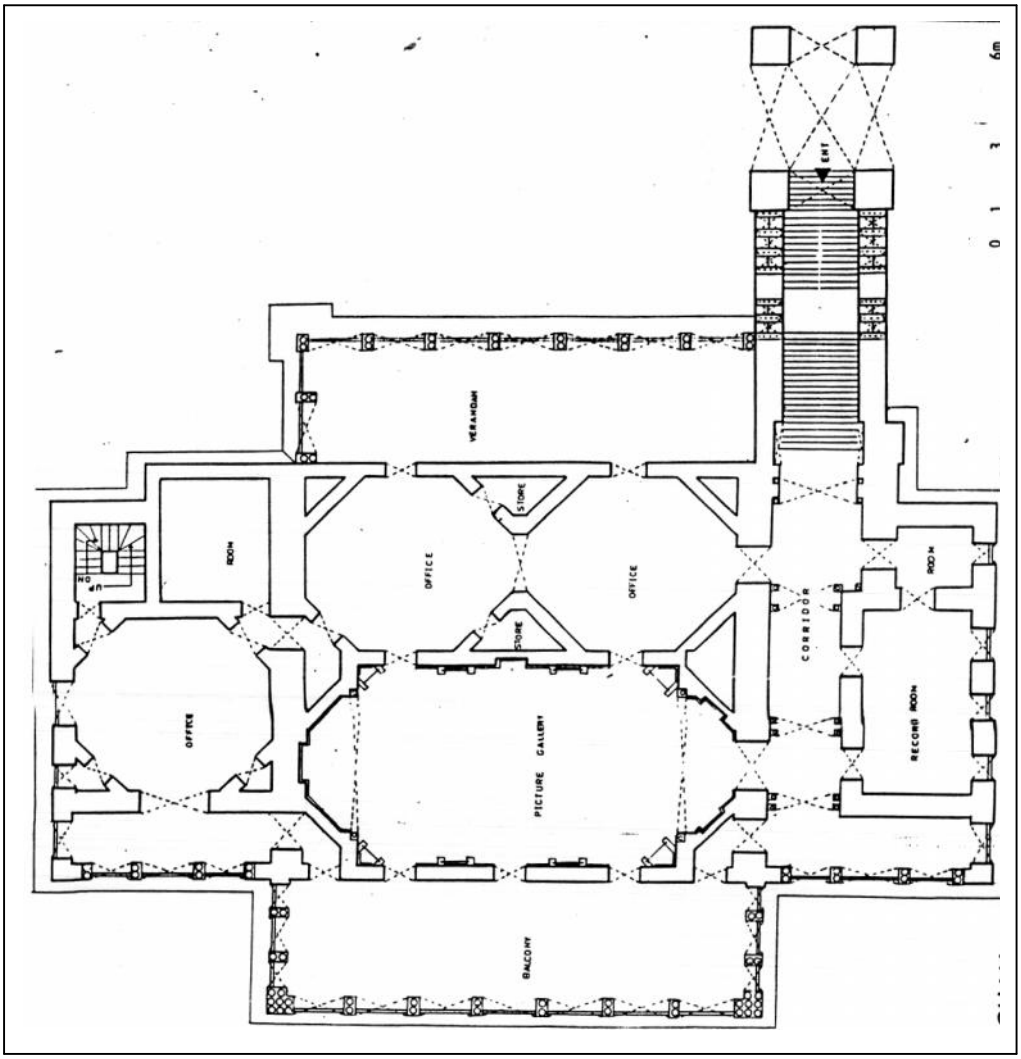
3.16 & 3.17 Residency complex from East, South, and South east



3.18 Buildings inside the Residency complex



3.19 and 3.20 View of Bailey Guard gate with Treasury and Banqueting hall in the background



3.21 Plan of Baradari, Daulat Khana complex. It was probably changed by the British later, used as picture gallery today

Imambaras and Karbalas: The "New" Building Type for the Shia Nawabs

For the Nawabs and other newly-formed aristocracy, architecture was a physical manifestation of their status. Not satisfied with the extension of the Macchi Bhawan fort, and construction of the Daulat Khana complex, the new ruler of Lucknow, Asaf-ud-Daula wanted an architecture that not only symbolized his dominance in Awadh, but also showed his severance from the Mughals. In India, an overwhelming majority of Muslims were Sunni including the Mughal rulers, thus the Sunni form of Islam was practised and patronized. On the other hand, the Shia sect of Islam was subdued.[1] However, the founder of the Nawabi dynasty, Saadat Khan, was a Shia from Iran as were the subsequent Nawabs. To immortalize this freedom of faith, Asaf-ud-Daula and the later Nawabs erected innumerable *Imambara*s (buildings where Muharram is commemorated), and *Karbala*s (shrines or burial places), both of which were essential and peculiar to the Shiite way of life.[2]

Muharram: Rituals, Objects, and Buildings

The battle of Karbala is commemorated every year as Muharram, the first month of the Islamic lunar calendar. The rituals associated with Muharram are contained in the first ten days of that month, beginning

with Imam Hussain's approach to Karbala and ending with his death on the tenth day, named Ashura, the day of tears. During this time, the painful experience of Imam Hussain at Karbala is recreated and relived by the people. In the mourning period many activities are performed which can be broadly classified in two parts, the mourning procession or *julus* (Fig. 4.1), and stationary mourning or *matam majlis*, also called *rauzakhwani* (reciting the praises of Imam Hussain) (Fig. 4.2).

The *julus* is the major mourning procession of Muharram. This procession signifies two different journeys of Imam Hussain and his group: first, from Mecca to Karbala in order to fight against injustice, and second from Karbala to Damascus, after the defeat at the battle of Karbala (Fig. 4.18). The *julus* usually starts from various settlements and meets in an important open space. Accompanied with various ritual objects associated with the battle at Karbala, such as the *tabut* (coffin) or *tazia* (model tomb) (Fig. 4.3), *zarih* (miniature tomb model), and *alam* (standard) the participants walk barefoot, wearing black clothes, and torturing themselves with knives and chains. They moan the mourning songs of Muharram and the rest of the community participates from the sides. The *julus* terminates at the *Karbala* complex, which represents the site where the battle was fought and Imam Hussain's army was martyred (Fig. 4.2, 4.4). The ritual objects are also buried here at the end of Muharram.

Matam majlis is the mourning in one place by a group of people. Various individual artists excite and manipulate emotions of the

gathering through poetry and prose to induce in them a unity of feeling for the martyrs. The presentation refers to the dramatic narration of the life, deeds, and sufferings of the Imams and other Shia martyrs. This is usually performed in an enclosed space identified as *Hosseiniye, Azakhana, Taziagah, Imambaragah, Imamkhana*, or *Ashurkhana* along with the *Imambara*.

The *tazia* is the most important ritual object used in the Muharram observances. Imam Hussain is represented by the *tazia,* which is a replica of his domed tomb at Karbala. In size, details, and materials they vary radically and could be permanent or temporary. The permanent ones are made of wood, ivory, glass, silver, etc. whereas the temporary are made of bamboo covered with red and green paper. They may vary in height from a few inches to about twelve feet. The *tazia*s, both temporary and permanent, are housed in the *Imambara* but only the temporary ones are buried during Muharram at the *Karbala.*

*Imambara*s have taken an important part in Shia life and even the poorest household would have a place of honour set aside as an *Imambara,* even if it is a small niche in the wall covered with a black curtain where a few humble objects and scriptures are placed. Wealthier families have allocated rooms for this purpose with a raised platform, the *shah-nishin*, where the *tazia* is placed. It was considered an act of charity by the affluent Shias to make large *Imambara* and *Karbala* complexes and organize the Muharram functions. The *Imambara* complexes usually have, along with a mosque, the tombs of the patrons

and other structures, which may be residential or communal. Excluding the *namaaz* (prayer) that is performed in the mosques, all other activities are held here.[3]

The tomb of Imam Hussain in Iraq is the most important Shia shrine in the world, and for many Shias the pilgrimage to Karbala is a life-long goal, as important as Mecca and Medina. Shias who cannot do so, often request the pilgrims to carry the remains of their dead relatives who wished to be buried near the tomb of Imam Hussain at Karbala. *Karbala*s made as "true copies" of the tombs of the Imams, are used as Shia cemeteries, as well as being the burial sites for *tazia*s. Built in the Iraqi style of architecture they come to life during Muharram when the place is full of mourning devotees (Fig. 4.5). The *Karbala* shrine is enclosed within a large courtyard space. The *tazia*s kept during Muharram in the *Imambara*s are buried within the complex on the last day. To one side is a structure representing the *qatlgah* (slaughterhouse) where the Imam's throat was said to have been cut.

The Imambaras of Lucknow

There are innumerable *Imambara*s in Lucknow and it is difficult to name a few. However, some have gained importance over others by virtue of having some extraordinary feature or status. Others, though important, have been deleted because they either have vanished or have been altered beyond recognition and therefore no longer have any architectural significance. The Imambara of Almas Ali Khan (a

powerful official) was a huge complex but today housing has come up inside it and destroyed the building. The Ghuframab, the Nazim, and the Kala (Black) Imambaras are among the earliest to have been built in Lucknow but very little of their original structure is left today.

Outside Lucknow, in Faizabad, the *Imambara* within the Gulab Bari, the tomb of Nawab Shuja-ul-Daula (1754–75), is a forerunner to those of Lucknow. The tomb of the Nawab is placed in the center of a *charbagh*, a Mughal-style four-square garden, with a mosque and *Imambara* placed symmetrically on both sides of the entrance gate. Facing the entrance gate is the residence of the Nawab. This is one of the first known such complexes in Nawabi architecture to have an *Imambara*.

*Imambara*s in Lucknow can be divided into two kinds; those for public use and those built within residences. The latter, usually of the rich, like the the Deputy Sahib ka Imambara, Faqr Manzil, and the Jannat ki Khirki are primarily for the use of women. Here the *Imambara* and the mosque become an integral part of the house design (Fig. 4.7), which gives it a distinctive Shia character. The major features of the *Imambara,* that is, the *shah-nishin* and the *majlisi* or gathering area, are still clearly defined.[4]

The *Imambara*s for public use are much bigger than the residential ones. The Asfi Imambara, often called the Bara (Great) Imambara, is the grandest and probably among the first *Imambara*s which became the prototype of those built later. It was built over the

period 1784 to 1791 and commissioned by Nawab Asaf-ud-Daula. The architect of the complex was Kifayat-ullah Shahjahanabadi of Delhi. Some scholars mention that the Nawab had a design competition for the Imambara and Kifayat-ullah's design was chosen for the purpose.[5] The Bara Imambara was supposedly built to provide work and income to the famine-hit citizens of Lucknow. For the whole building the craftsmen of Lucknow used *lakhori*, a small, thin brick, and white stucco plaster, to imitate stone. The bricks are laid in different ways to form circular shapes, and foliation of arches. Again, like all Islamic buildings that abhor figuration of any sort, *Imambara*s and *Karbala*s are decorated with elements of calligraphy, geometry, and foliage. (Fig. 4.15 to 4.17)

Old maps of Lucknow indicate that the Bara Imambara was located next to the Macchi Bhawan fort where the earlier Nawabs used to stay. Along with the *Imambara* is a step well or *baoli*. It is improbable that this well was built as part of the *Imambara* complex, as many such wells can be seen in Mughal and pre-Mughal forts, but it may have been repaired and developed upon. The complex was entered through the Rumi Darwaza (Turkish Gate), which was, like the step well, built over an old fort gate when the whole complex was made.

Moving up a stepped plinth, the Bara Imambara looms large and linear. Its facade is divided into three parts, the central bay punctuated by semicircular projections, and the two sides a little recessed from the centre. There are seven arched openings in the central bay and one in each of the side bays. The upper portion of the facade is further

articulated by a series of arched openings and a *chhatri* (domed pavilion or cupola) or kiosk-like parapet.

The building can be entered through any of the arched openings. It is divided into nine parts, including the entrance hall, which is used for the *matam majlis*; a long hall, with a *minbar* or pulpit at one end; the main hall with a large vaulted roof and a continuous balcony at an upper level, which houses the tomb of Nawab Asaf-ud-Daula and his wife; the raised platform where the *tazia*s are kept; the side halls off the central bay are more or less square in plan and have shallow domed roofs, with small balconies of no apparent use. A side staircase for the podium outside leads to the terrace above the *Imambara*. At roof level there are narrow passages and small staircases, which are labyrinthine in character.

The Bara Imambara complex has many peculiarities and follies of a “first” prototype. The major one of these is the location of the mosque within the complex (Fig. 4.10). All Islamic builders are well aware of the *qibla* orientation of the mosque (in the direction of Mecca), but in this case not only does this axiality strike a discord with that of the Bara Imambara, the sheer size of the same juxtaposes the two in a dynamic relationship with two dominant axes. This condition was probably unacceptable, hence is not repeated in the later *Imambara* complexes where the mosque is either reduced in size and importance or the whole complex is oriented in the *qibla* direction so that the whole is symmetrically placed along the central axis. Secondly, the complex

lacks cohesion of its parts and the elements like the cloisters and gateways that join each other can be seen as separate units rather than parts of a whole.

Finally, the monumental size of the Bara Imambara must have also posed a problem for the builders. Not only is the surface decoration out of scale in proportion to the size of the building, the roofing system here is unique. The central hall of the *Imambara* is almost 50 metres long and over 16 metres wide and covered by a vault. Not only is such a large structure difficult to construct, it is difficult to treat in elevation. The builders overcame this problem by making a maze-like masonry structure along the wall length on the edges of the vault, today called *bhul bhulaiyan*. This honeycombing made the structure lighter and also produced a flat, usable terrace much easier to treat as a façade (Fig. 4.11). All later *Imambara*s with very large roofs were either covered by a dome or had smaller spans with flat roofs. Smaller *Imambara*s also did not have a problem of articulation and decoration.

The large *Imambara*s, unlike the *Karbala*s, have elaborate gardens within their courtyards. One is prompted to compare them with the *charbagh* or paradise gardens of Mughal times. The gardens of the Lucknow *Imambara*s have flowers and fruit shrubs, waterways, and fountains, but they lack the structuring of a four-part plan, which is essential for a paradise garden.

The Shah Najaf Imambara was commissioned by Nawab Ghazi-ul-din Haider. It also forms a burial place for him and his three wives. It is

supposed to be a copy of the tomb of Imam Ali at Najaf, in present-day Iraq. Unlike the Bara Imambara, this is a large, square domed structure, set within a large courtyard, and more like a tomb (Fig. 4.12). The central domed hall is used as the *shah-nishin* and for the tombs of the founders. A large hall extends beyond it, which works as the *majlisi*. Again, unlike the Bara Imambara, it has a very small mosque, which does not undermine the presence of the main structure.

However, it was the Hussainabad Imambara, also called the Chota (Small) Imambara, commissioned during the rule of Nawab Muhammad Ali Shah, which solved the basic follies of the Bara Imambara while keeping the essence alive (Fig. 4.13). It was much smaller than the Bara Imambara, and had a domed central hall. The mosque has also been reduced in size. This problem of axiality was solved in the later *Imambara*s when they were also tilted towards the west, thereby dissolving the juxtaposed *qibla* axis of the mosque and the centrality of the *Imambara*. Most importantly, the Hussainabad Imambara presents to the onlooker a well-designed symmetrical complex with the building sitting at the end of a beautifully landscaped courtyard, with water elements, and flanked on both sides by similar buildings, one being the tomb of the Nawab's daughter and the other providing a symmetry to the same. The cloisters surrounding the court have a bath or *hammam* and a stable along with many rooms.

Other than the Nawabs, the *begams* of Lucknow were also prolific builders and many *Imambara*s were built by or for them. These include

the Imambaras Mughal Sahiba (Fig. 4.6) and Malika Zamania. They are both smaller versions of the Bara Imambara with a three-bay plan, a five- or seven-bay façade, and flat roofs with beautifully stuccoed walls. The *majlisi* and *shah-nishin* are clearly defined, as in other *Imambara*s, and these *Imambara*s were usually a part of their *mahalserai*, or female quarters within the palace complexes.

The Lucknow Karbalas

There are many *Karbala*s in Lucknow but the Talkatora Karbala (to the west of Alambagh Road), is among the most famous (Fig. 4.8, 4.9). Khuda Baksh Khan, a nobleman in the court of Nawab Saadat Ali Khan, built it about 1798. The complex is situated away from the city and its compound is reached through a large vaulted gateway. It has, along with the symbolic tomb of Imam Hussain, two mosques, and an *Imambara*. It is also used as a cemetery. A six-roomed structure grouped with the *Imambara* and the mosque is the *chaidari*, where the family members of the builder are buried.

The external face of this *Karbala* is seen as a single large complex with bare, unadorned walls, but with a highly ornate *Imambara* and an open mosque as appendages, and a minaret terminating the complex. Going round this wall, one enters the *Karbala* courtyard through an arched gateway. The main shrine of plain, whitewashed stucco, is situated in the centre of the courtyard, bounded by arched cloisters and punctuated by large gateways. The central dome above it is

flanked by two minarets, with a third dome at the back, to mark the *mihrab*, the arched niche in the *qibla* wall. The inside of the shrine belies its exterior and is exquisitely decorated with colorful stucco patterns. The whole interior is lighted up mysteriously with filtered lights coming in from the screened windows. Devotees can move around the shrine as a narrow passage has been left all around the central domed space.

The Kazmain Karbala and the Azimullah Karbala (both built by nobles at the court of Nawab Muhammad Ali Shah), are two other important religious complexes. The large Kazmain Karbala, built by Sharf-ul-Daula, is said to be a copy of the tomb of the seventh Imam, Musa Kazim, near Baghdad. It has within its large cloistered courtyard a representational tomb and a small domeless mosque called the Masjid-e-Kufa, which is supposed to be a true copy of the mosque where Imam Ali was killed. On one side is the shrine to a cousin of Imam Hussain, who was also killed at Kufa. The Azim-ullah Karbala, named after its founder, Azim-ullah, has a very alien character. It has a central shrine, with two courtyards at either end. The entrance court has a garden with meandering waterways, and lush green trees and feels like an oasis in a desert.

Imambaras and Karbalas Today

These *Imambaras and Karbalas* are looked after by various Trusts set up by their founders, like the Hussainabad Trust, and therefore many

Shias are employed within these buildings. Silent most of the year, the *Imambara*s awake during Chellum and Muharram, when they are cleaned and lighted, newly prepared *tazia*s are installed, and stages for the speakers organized with microphones and loudspeakers. Devout Shias donate food as they collect to hear, in their black mourning dresses, of the calamities faced by their leaders, and overcome by the passionate narration of the speakers, they weep again for the martyrs. Various forms of fanatical mourning like fire walking and self-infliction of wounds by knives is carried out by those in the procession that is taken out from the *Imambara*. The spectators, mainly Shias, watch the whole show with reverence and awe. On the last day the activities shift to the *Karbala*s and similar activities take place. The *Imambara*s and *Karbala*s quieten down again after the burial of the *tazia*s. Many tourists and pilgrims can also be seen around the year in these complexes. They are both Lucknow's heritage and religious sites for Shias the world over.

Historical precedents

The origin of an Imambara as a built form goes back as early as the death of Prophet Mohammad in the year 632 A.D. when the first Imam Hazrat Ali, built the first structure, called *Azakhana*. This structure is recorded as Bait-ul-Ahzan in the history of Shi'ite Islam, which means the house of sorrow. It was a mud house built outside the city of Medina. Fatima, the wife of Hazrat Ali and the daughter of Mohammad,

often went there to mourn in isolation, as her weeping in the city was banned by authorities. Following the battle of Karbala in 680 A.D., many Muslims gathered around the fourth Imam and mourned the memory of the martyrs. Most of these gatherings occurred in the traditional mud houses of the Imams. Therefore, some contemporary scholars still relate the Azakhana as the house of Imams, hence the name 'Imambara.' Under the rule of the Safavid dynasty in Persia in the sixteenth century A.D., the traditions of the Shias were encouraged. New buildings were built to facilitate commemoration by mourning. These buildings are known as *Hosseinyeh*, which in Persian means a place used for Imam Hussain's commemoration.[6] However, it was the *rauza* or the tombs of the saints and martyr's, which became central places for such commemoration.

Islam requires burial for the dead and the burial places of meritorious men became elaborate structures, often in the form of canopies. Others wishing to be buried within the orbit of 'Benign Influence' (*baraka*) of the holy men provided themselves graves near these.[7] Thus, cemeteries became part of a tomb complex. A natural corollary of this was the increasingly popular practice of visiting graves and prayers were said for the departed on their death anniversary. In Shi'ite sanctuaries this was more pronounced. Not only, were these tombs much larger than the Sunni counterparts, they were more important since they housed the graves of the *imams* and their descendents. Nor are they simply mausoleum, they would include

functions like worship, teaching, Quranic recitation, and secondary burials. Inevitably, they played a more central role in the lives of a community than a Sunni mausoleum. The communal role of the major Shi'ite shrines all over the world came to the fore especially on the occasion of Muharram when processions, passion plays, recitations and public mourning allowed the whole community to express grief.[8] Therefore, it is not very difficult to perceive that it was these tomb complexes, which were the motive, and examples, which the Nawabs used as a prototype to design their Imambara and Karbala complexes in Lucknow.

Development of the Karbala and Imambara prototype

The built form of both the Imambara and Karbala use the *rauza* or tomb as the prototype building type. The Karbala complexes are 'copies' of tomb complexes in Iraq and have domes and minarets of shapes and form quite different to the ones seen in India and Lucknow. The tomb is placed in the center of a cloistered courtyard and the Imambara on the other hand essentially shows a departure from the Mughal tombs. In it's simplest form, an Imambara is derived from a nine-part plan like the tomb of Etmad-ud-Daula at Agra. The central bay in the Imambara is extended but the proportioning maintains the square within (Fig. 4.6). The large Imambaras, unlike the Karbalas, have elaborate gardens within their courtyards. One is prompted to compare them with the *char-bagh* or Paradise gardens of the Mughal tombs. These gardens

have flower and fruit shrubs, waterways, and fountains but they lack the structuring of a four-part plan, which is essential for a paradise garden. However, they also embrace elements from the mosque, pavilion, and *madarsa*. Like a mosque, it has a central open court surrounded by cloistered halls on three sides and the main hall on the fourth side although the axiality of the *qibla* is not maintained in these buildings. The elevation of an Imambara closely resembles a five bay prayer hall mosque without the dome. Like *madarsas* they do not have, minarets, which are used to call for prayer and have double layered, cloistered cells to house the students or pilgrims. This further shows a transition of a mortuary building type that is moving towards a community space.

Karbalas and Imambaras are arcuate structures, using arches, domes, and vaults as and when needed. However, residential Imambaras in Lucknow also use a jack arched and flat roof if spans are small. The surface articulation of the Imambara complex imitates stone decoration of other Mughal monuments of Delhi and Agra, which use stone, in brick and stucco. The craftsmen of Nawabi Lucknow have used *lakhori*, a small thin brick, and white stucco plaster. These bricks have been shaped as and when needed to give circular shapes, *muqarnas*, and foliation of arches. Again, like all Islamic buildings that abhor figuration of any sort, Imambaras and Karbalas are decorated with elements like calligraphy, geometry, and foliation. (Fig. 4.15, 4.16, 4.17)

[1] The Shia and the battle at Karbala

All Muslims accept the 'five pillars of Islam', namely, belief in one God and in Mohammad of Mecca as his Apostle; five prayers a day; almsgiving; fasting during Ramzan, the month during which the holy book of Koran was revealed to Mohammad; and pilgrimage to the holy places of Arabia. However, on issues of doctrines beyond these fundamentals they differ, and two great schools or sects have developed within the Muslim world- the Sunni or the orthodox, and the Shia, or schismatic. Shiism began as a political protest in Iraq in the seventh century AD, soon after the death of Muhammad when there was a struggle for Caliphate, or headship, of the new Muslim Empire.

After Mohammed's death, his followers immediately divided into factions over issue of succession to the leadership of the Islamic community. After negotiation, Abu Bakr, an early convert to Islam was chosen to be the first Caliph, to be the leader of Islam. Opposed to this decision was a faction in favour of Ali, the younger cousin, and son-in-law of the Prophet. This faction was subsequently known as the 'Alids' and as the 'Shia', the party or followers of Hazrat Ali. They believe in the leadership of the 'followers' of the direct descendents of the Prophet, who are called Imams, twelve in number, the first of whom was Ali and the last of whom is Mahdi, or expected one.

The first Imam Ali designated Hasan to be the second Imam, and Hussain as the third Imam. After the death of Ali and Hasan, Hussain settled down in Mecca. The people of Kufa invited him to consolidate his forces in Iraq. When the contemporary Caliph Yazid, heard of this he planned to kill Imam Hussain. Hussain with his family and followers, on their travel from Mecca to Kufa, were surrounded at Karbala and had their supplies of food and water cut off. A fierce battle was fought on the southern banks of the Euphrates at Karbala between Hussain and his supporters and the Yazid army. In the battle, in 680 A.D., Imam Hussain was brutally massacred together with his seventy-two companions. The warriors along with Hussain and his family had to face the worst cruelties and were finally massacred. This martyrdom of Ali's family at Karbala has played the greatest role in the growth of Shiism.

(John Pemble,. *The Raj, The Indian Mutiny, and the Kingdom of Oudh 1801-1859.*
Keith Hjortshoj,. *Karbala in Context: A Study of Muharram in Lucknow, India.*
Nadeem & Husain, Abrar. *Shias and Shia Islam in India.)*

2 Neeta Das. *The demand for a new architecture.* pg. 19

[3] *Neeta Das. The Architecture of Imambaras.* pg. 25

[4] Das, op.cit. pg. 27

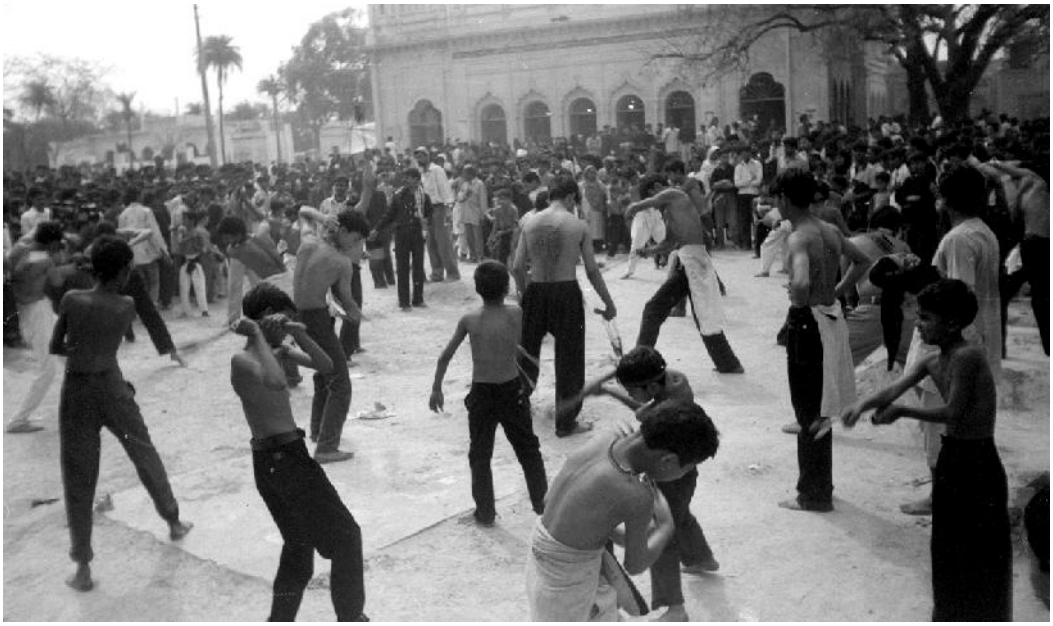
[5] Sidney Hay. *Historic Lucknow.*

[6] Mohamed Andalib Alvi,. *Architecture for the Mourning ritual of Islam.* Pg. 10

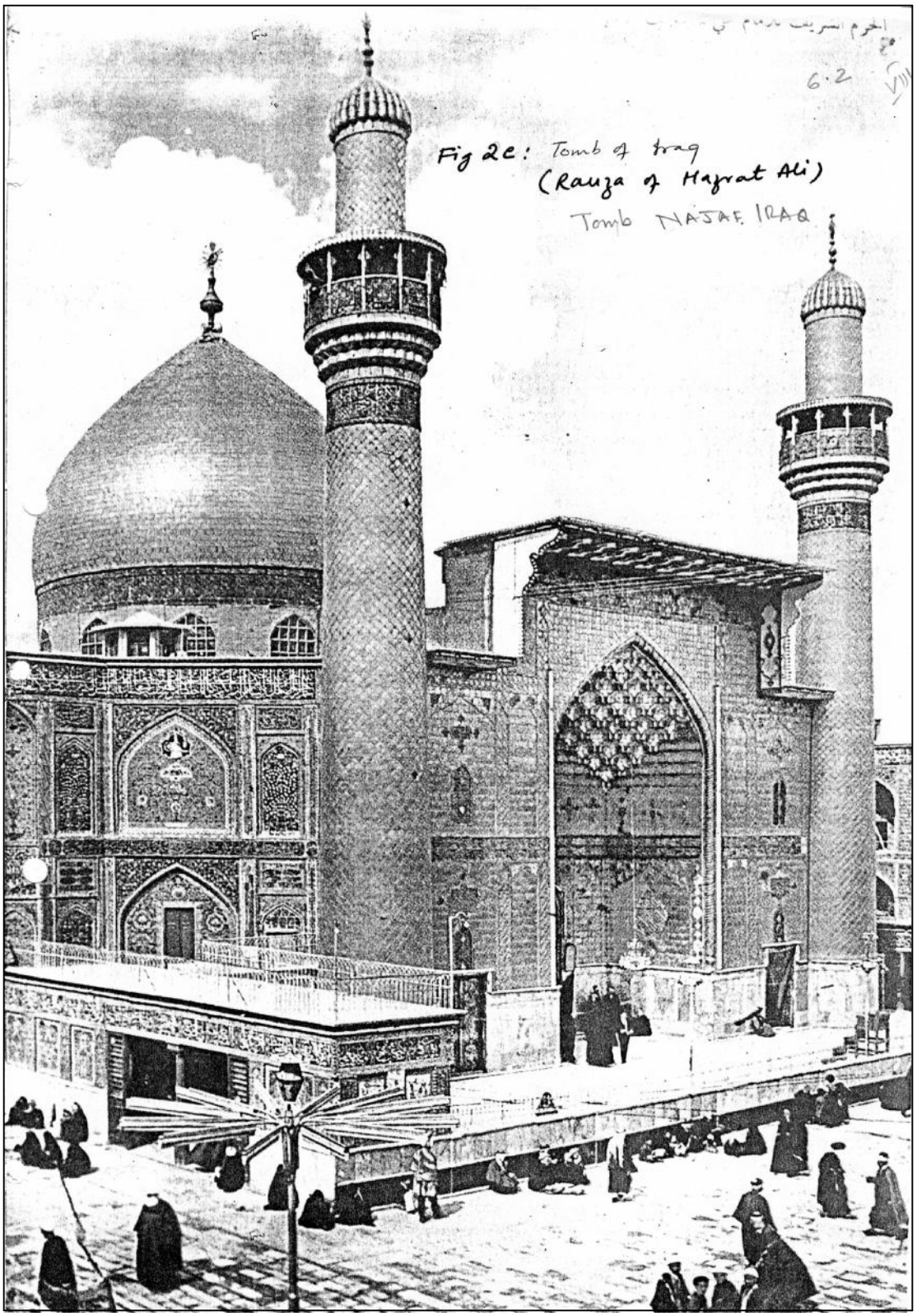
[7] Christopher Tadgell,. *The History of Architecture in India.* Pg. 152

[8] Robert Hillenbrand. *Islamic Architecture.*

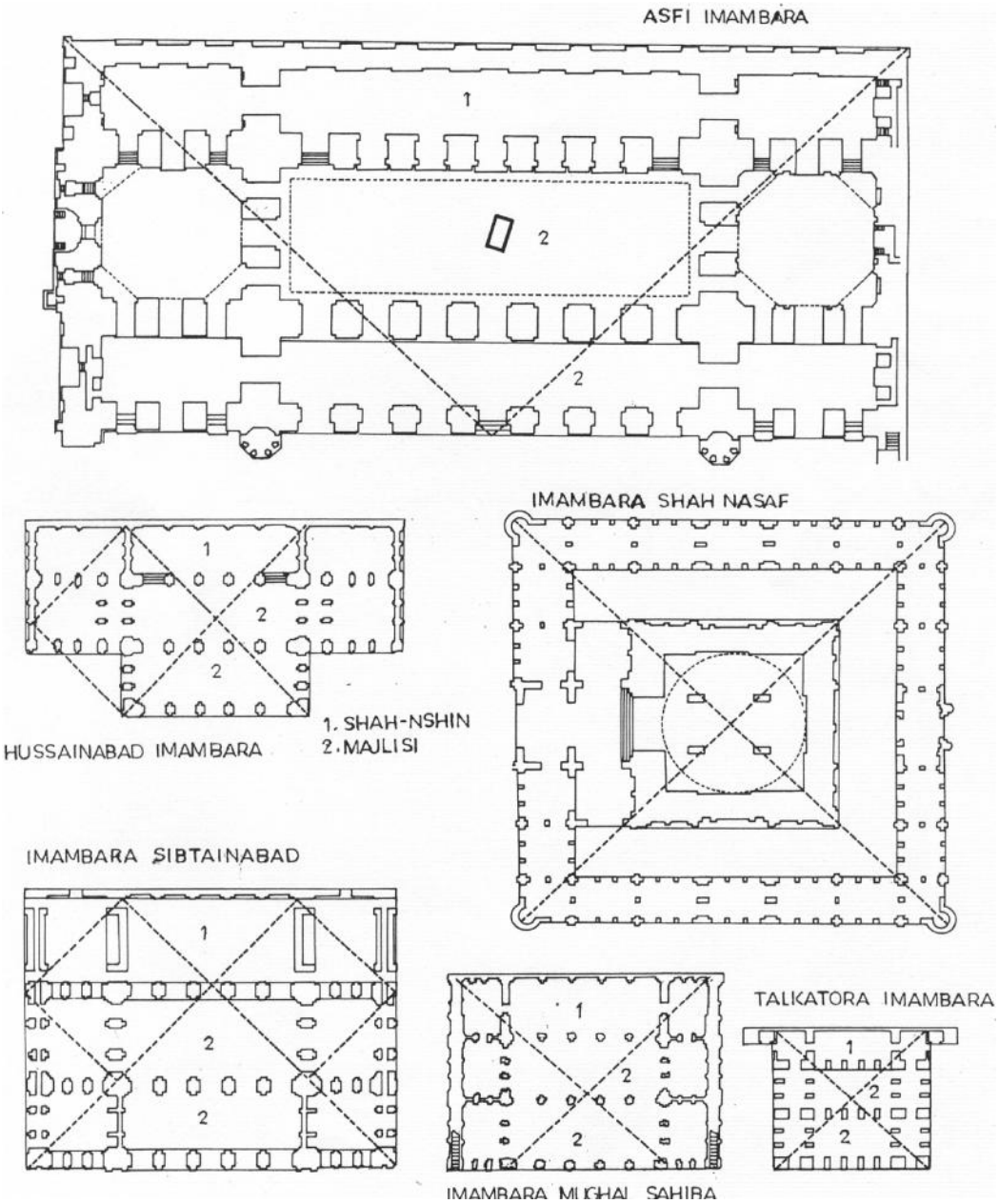
4.1 *Matam julus*
4.2 *Matam* in the forecourt of a Karbala
4.3 Decorated *Tazias* kept on the *shahnshin* of Imambaras



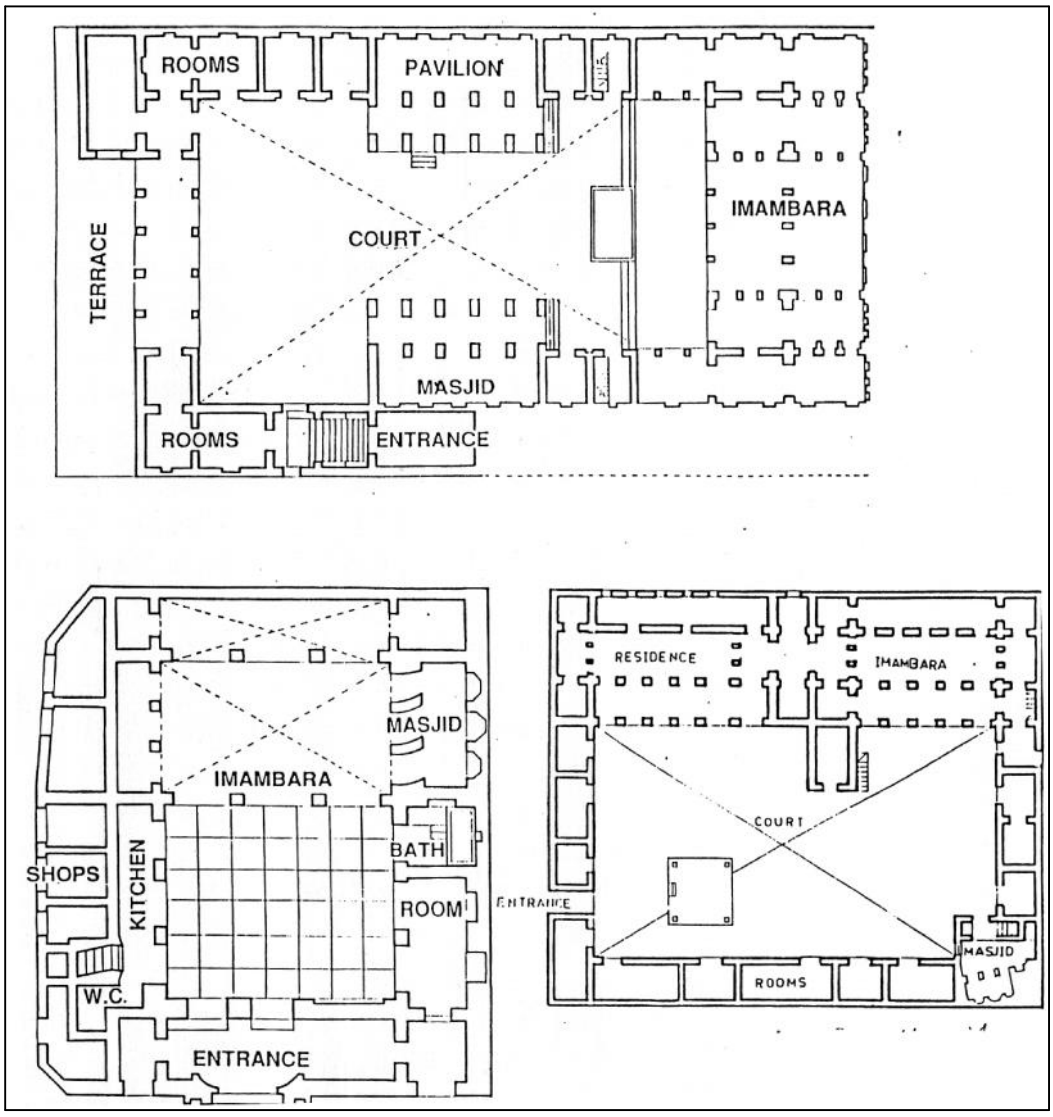
4.4 Young boys performing *matam* in the fore court of the Talkatora Imambara



4.5 Karbalas of Lucknow were copies of tombs of martyrs; Tomb of Hazrat Ali in Iraq

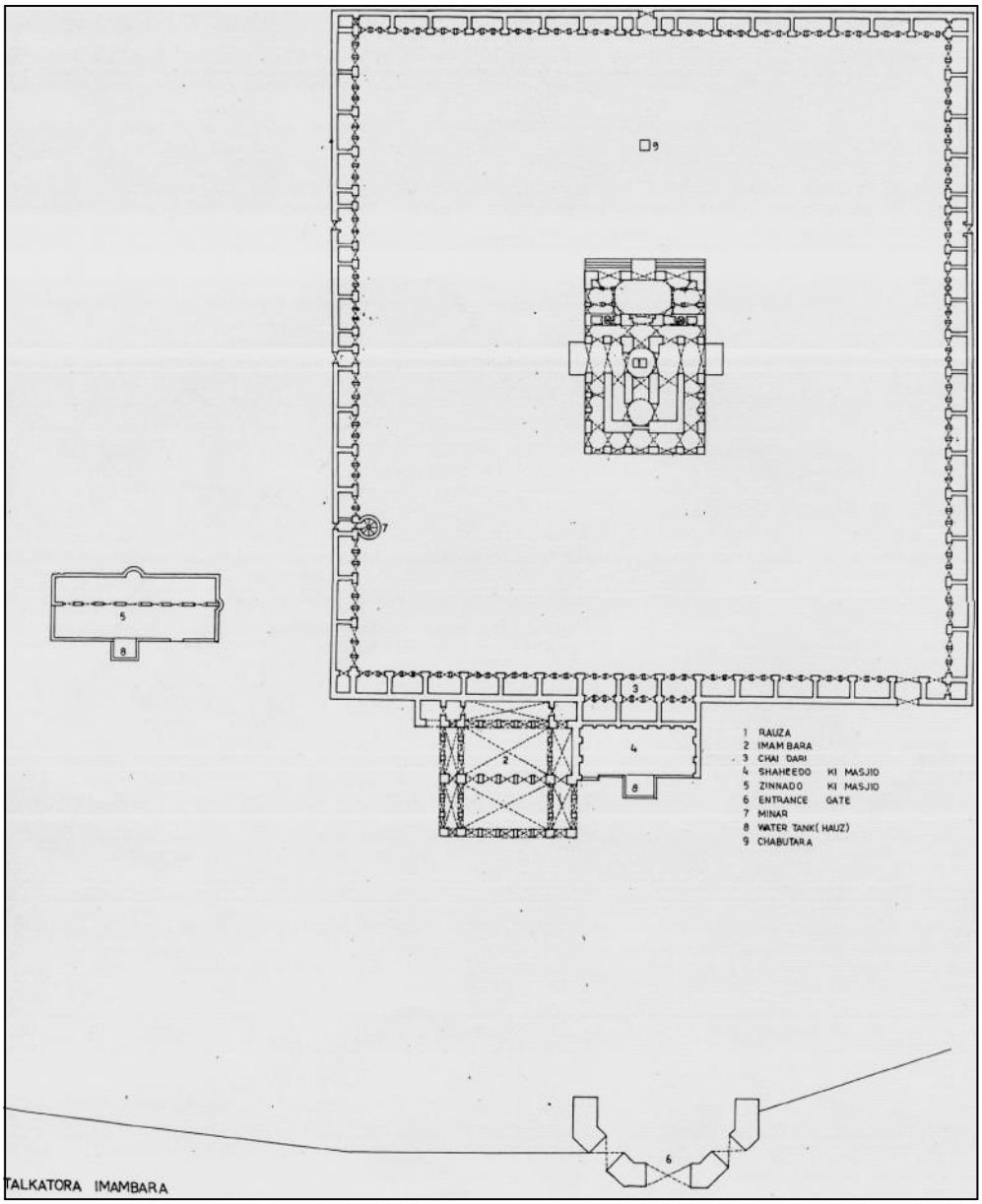


4.6 Comparative floor plans of the important Imambaras of Lucknow

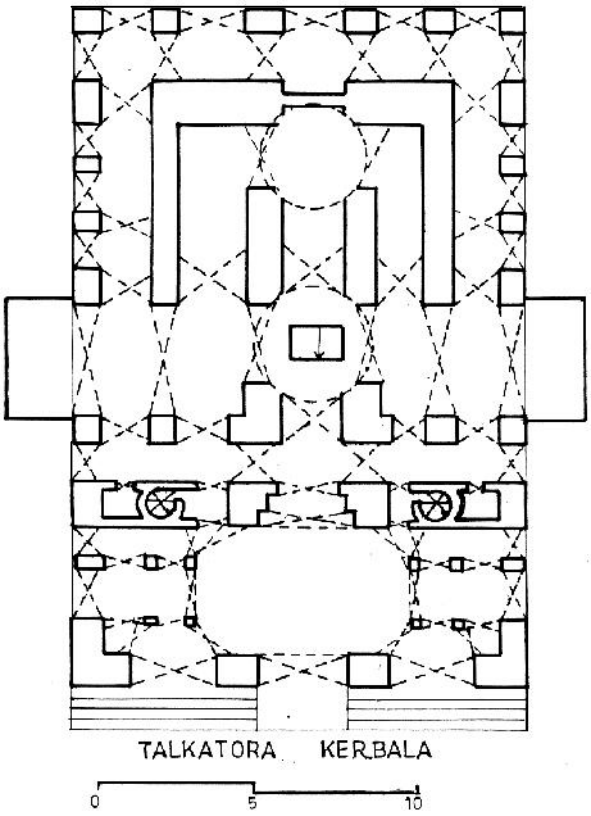


4.7 Larger Shia houses have an Imambara within the house

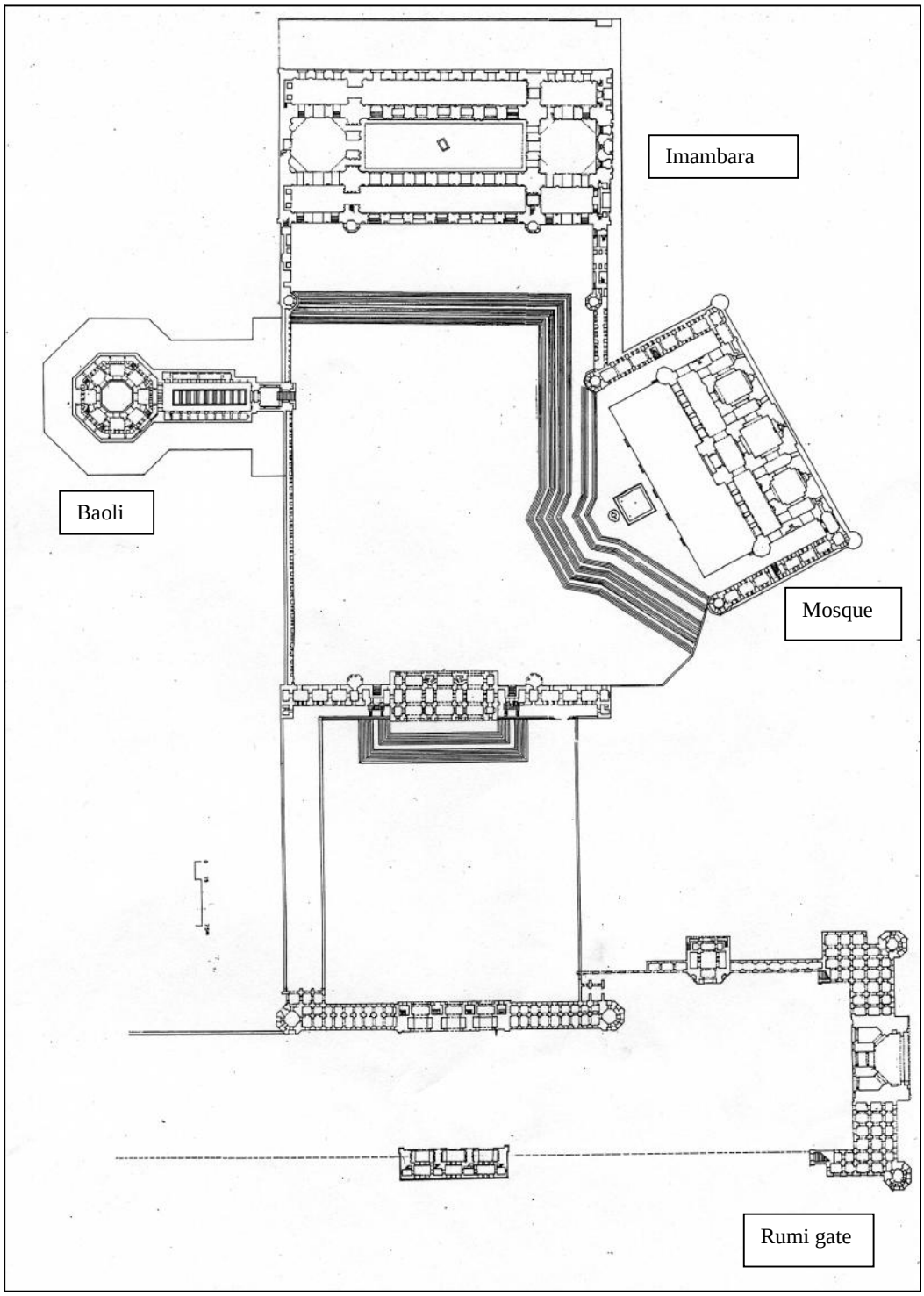
1 Deputy Saheb ka Imambara
2 Jannat ki Khirki
3 Faqr Manzil



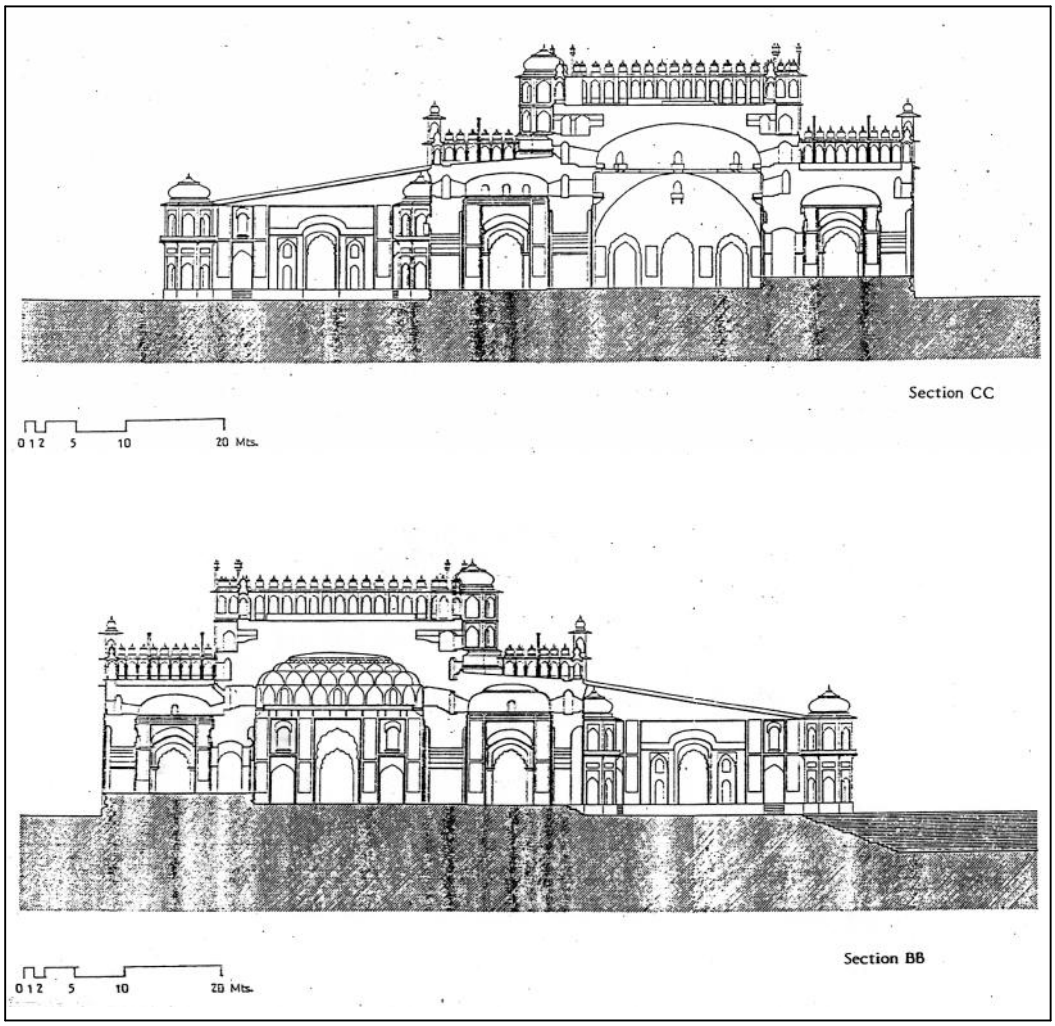
4.8 Talkatora Imambara and Karbala



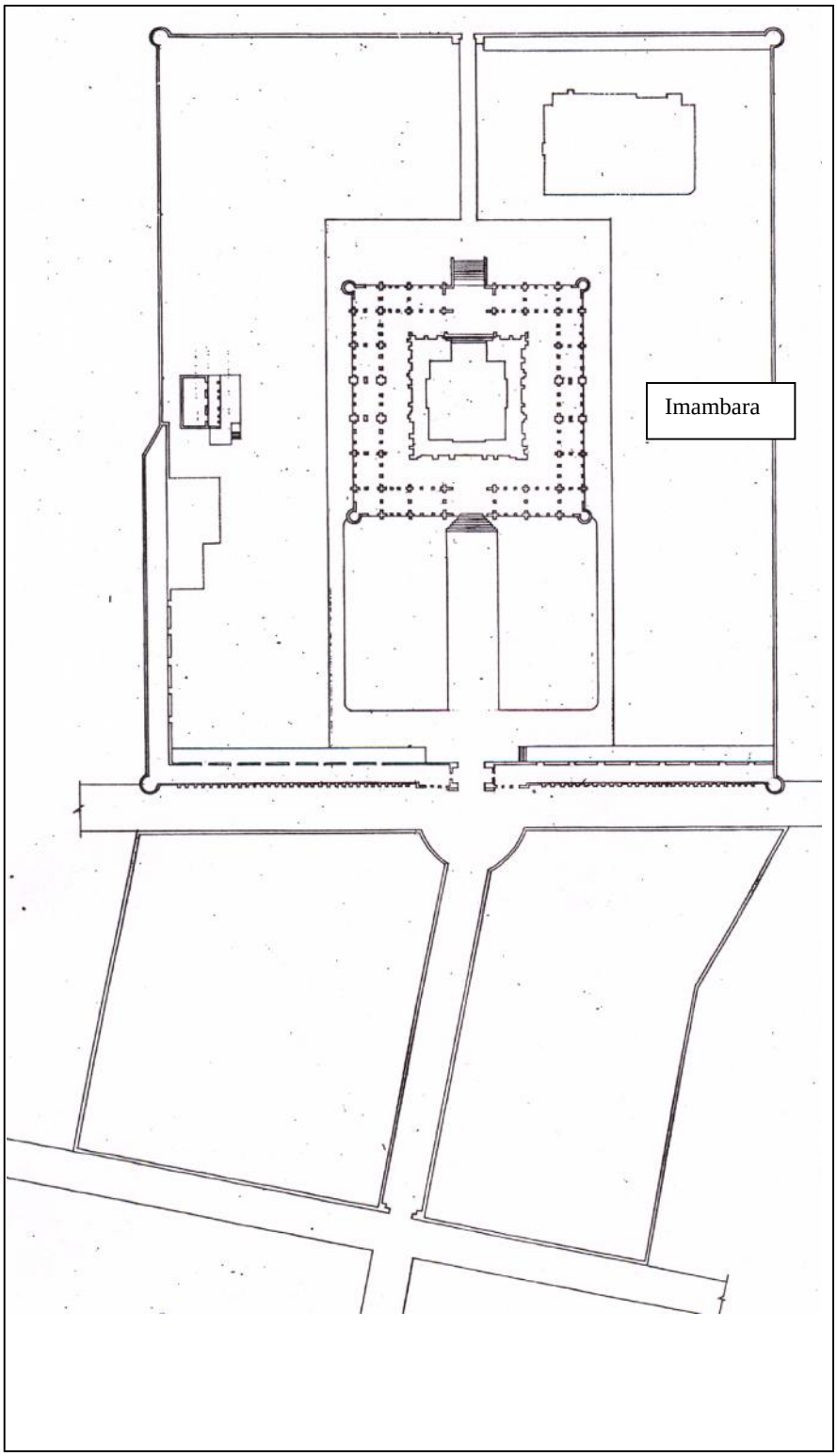
4.9 Plans of the shrines Karbalas are based on the tombs of martyrs in Iraq



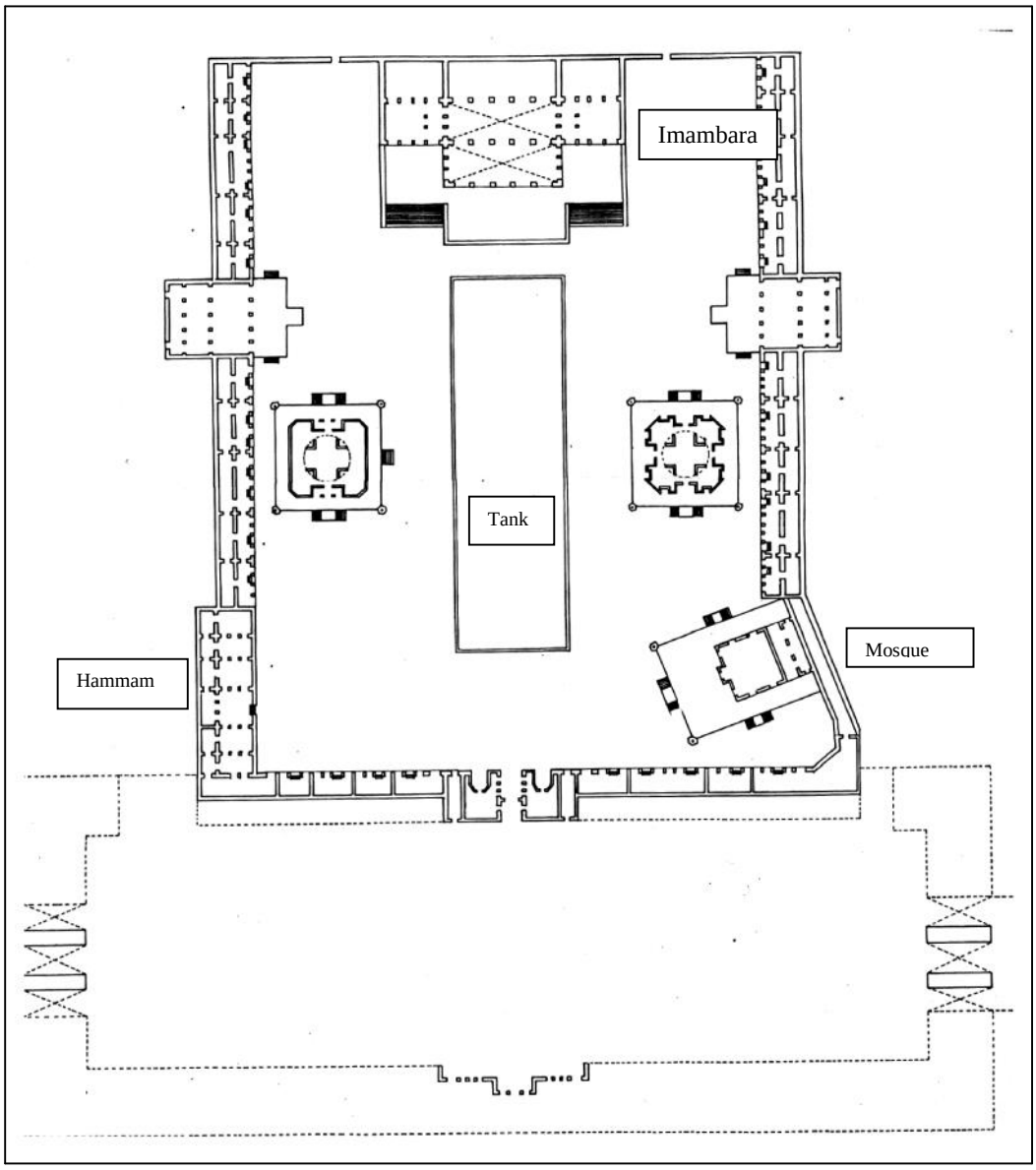
4.10 Plan of Asfi (Bara) Imambara complex



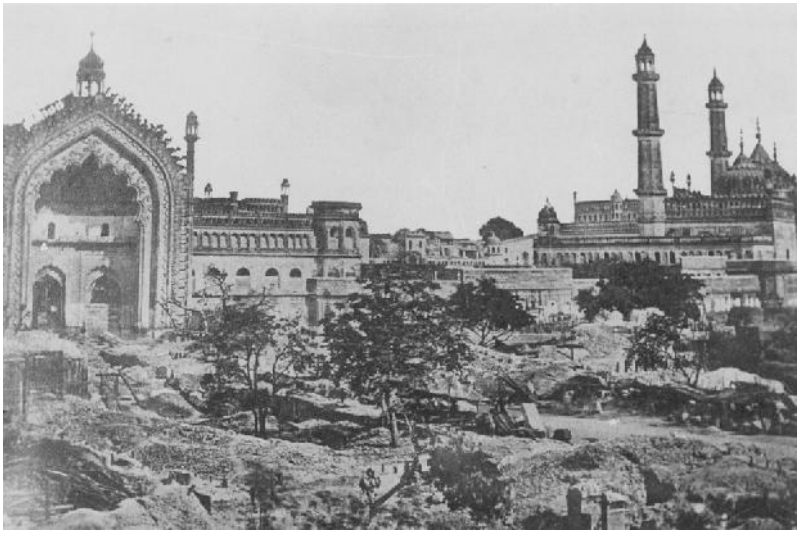
4.11 Section through the central and side halls of Asfi Imambara showing the labyrinth formed by carving out masonary

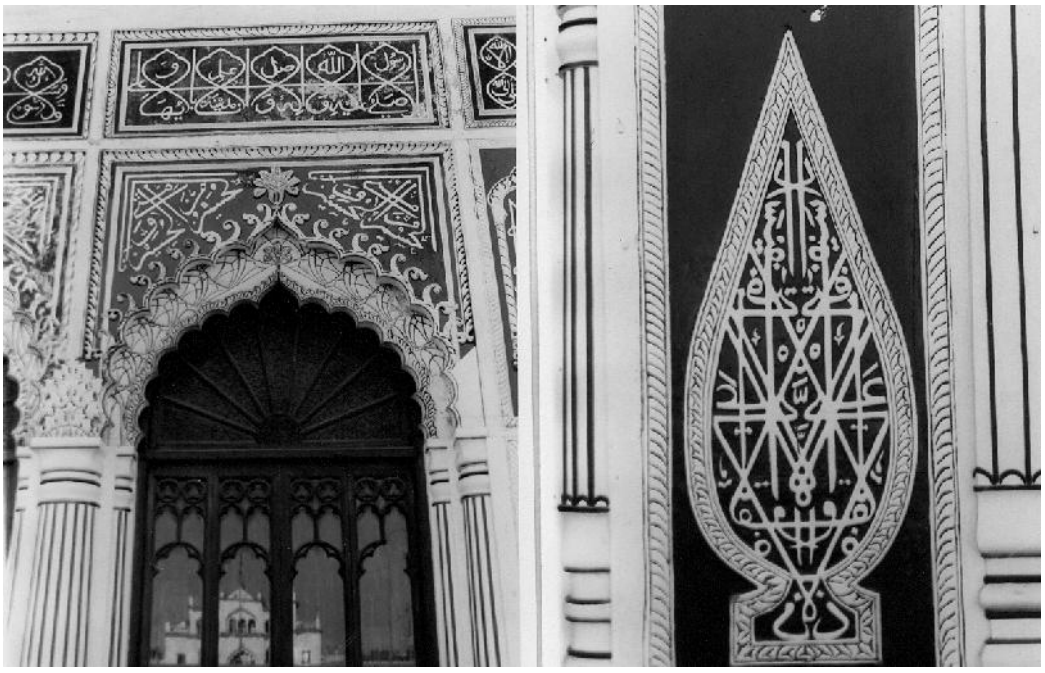


4.12 Plan of Shah Najaf Imambara



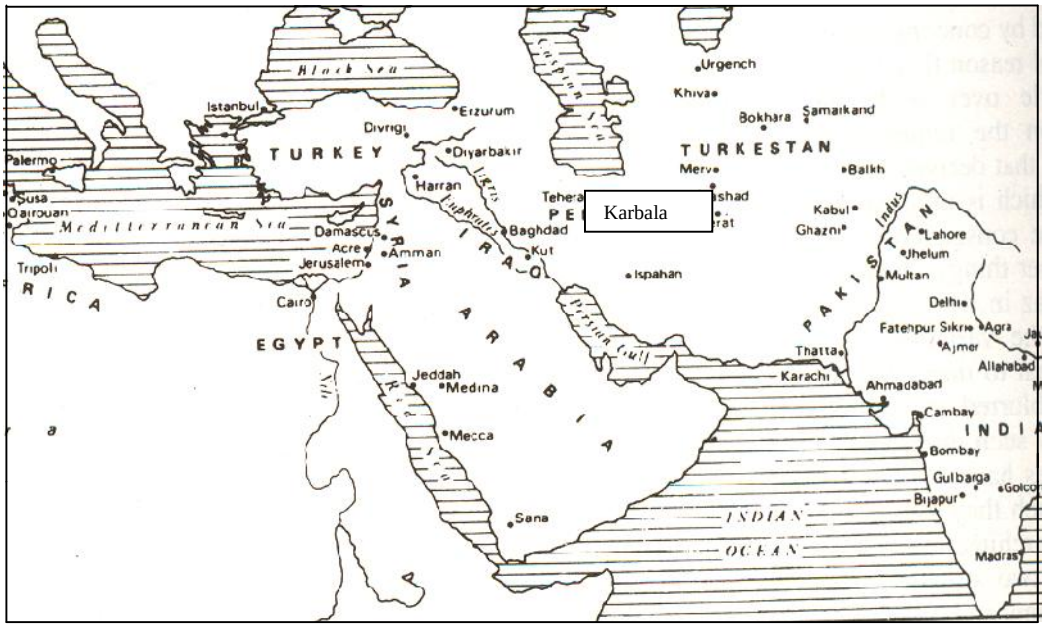
4.13 Plan of Hussainabad (Chota) Imambara complex





4.14 View of Rumi gate with the Asfi Imambara in the background
4.15 Stucco work in Moghal Sahiba ka Imambara
4.16 Painted calligraphy on the façade of Hussainabad Imambara
4.17 Detail of the calligraphy

4.18 Map of South west Asia



Conception of a ‘New’ Nawabi Lucknow

Nawab Saadat Ali and the conception of ‘New’ Lucknow

Saadat Ali Khan assumed rulership in 1798, which he continued until his death in 1814, with his capital in Lucknow. He was the successor and half-brother of Nawab Asaf-ud-Daula. After the death of Asaf-ud-Daula, the British invited Saadat Ali Khan to become the next ruler. For this favor, the Nawab had to present half of his domain to them in the bargain. Saadat Ali Khan was known as a competent ruler and his main interest was in the beautification of the capital city, which had been neglected by the earlier Nawabs. Although Nawab Asaf-ud-Daula had taken a great interest in building activity, his concentrated effort was in the housing of the growing population and in religious buildings.

Two reasons can be attributed for Saadat Ali Khan's beautification of Lucknow. First, is the fact that, having ceded half of his domain and his army to the British, the Nawab was left with little administrative power or responsibility for defending the province, which was now done by the British.[1] The Nawab was thus free to explore other venues. Gore Ouseley, the aide-de-camp to the Nawab and later his architect, justified this by claiming, that "the nabob is now happy and contended, eased of a burden...his splendor, furniture and houses, in a state infinitely more magnificent than they were

before; for he has more opportunity of knowing what funds he can bestow on these things."[2] As a kind of consolation for losing real power, the Nawabs were allowed by the British to indulge in making Lucknow one of the most visually splendid cities in north India that could be identified with the greatness of the Nawabs.

The second reason for the Nawab's interest in the development of the city, with encouragement by the British, was the fact that accounts of European travelers had began to come in, and they were full of criticisms for the ″narrow and dirty″ streets of Lucknow, especially as some travelers mentioned that they had great expectations from this ″celebrated capital″. The Comte de Modave, a European, wrote in February 1775, “ Laknau is a large and nasty town…” Later in 1782 William Hodges, an English artist, remarked, “The city is extensive but meanly built, the houses are chiefly mud and walls covered with thatch and many consist entirely of mats and bamboo’s, very few indeed, of the houses of the natives are built with brick, the streets are crooked, narrow and the worst I have seen in India.” Another passage in 1798 says: “Amidst all this blaze of wealth and magnificence, thousands of poor wretches are seen on the road to all appearance in real want.” An early criticism made by travelers visiting the city was the appalling state of road along which they had to travel to reach Macchi Bhawan, Daulat Khana, and Residency. In 1795 Thomas Twining wrote; ‘ the length of the city along the south west of Lucknow up through

Chowk…the streets all this way were narrow and dirty…. that much disappointed the expectations I had formed of the splendor of this celebrated capital'.[3] Another persistent European perception of the city was that it was dense with people, it's streets a constant jam, its houses distastefully crowded.[4] The early travelers and officials also complained that the city lacked 'proper streets'. In his own fashion, Saadat Ali responded to this complaint with the construction of the Hazratganj (Fig. 5.1). However, by 1819, five years after Saadat Ali Khan's death, such accounts ceased and were instead replaced by praises for the new capital. A traveler whose account was published in 1828 wrote:

> The second quarter of Lucknow was built mostly by the late nabob Saadat Ali. It stands near Gomti, towards the south east, and consists of one very handsome street, after the European fashion, above a mile in length, with bazaars striking out at right angles, and a well built chowk in the center, with a lofty gateway at each extremity…The houses that compose the remainder of this street belong to the king, and are occupied by members of his family or officers of his household. They are for the most part in English style, but with a strange occasional mixture of Eastern architecture. The same remark applies to the palaces and gardens that occupy the space between the street, and the river, and reserved by his Majesty for his own use. All these palaces

> are filled with European furniture and pictures, and may rank with comfortable English houses.[5]

The above account effectively encapsulates the Nawab's town planning towards the beautification of the eastern half of Lucknow and his conscious attempts towards town planning. The whole street was well over two miles long and formed something of a 'triumphal way' along which visitors were obliged to travel in order to reach the palaces and Residency. There were no further reports of the wretched state of the old road through Chowk after 1798 not because it had improved but because the Europeans were diverted from it to the 'new' road. The digression about roads demonstrates that the Farhad Baksh complex was intended to provide a palace worthy of the builder and a fitting climax to the triumphal way. Also because the southern and eastern part of the area along Farhad Baksh were relatively undeveloped, he was able to extend the city in these directions and impose a measure of town planning which hitherto had been neglected.[6]

The first step thus taken by the Nawab was to move away from the palace complex of his ancestors and develop a whole new stretch of wooded land between the dense city and the river Gomti. Whereas the city enclosed this stretch from one side, the river did so from the other (Fig. 5.1). This extensive space was then divided up into smaller *baghs* (gardens) built around handsome *kothis* (big houses). The Farhad

Baksh that was reached after starting from Dilkusha and walking pass the various *baghs* and *kothis*. One visitor mentions, "the King's palace surprised me in the first place. It was not properly a palace, but a continuation of palaces, stretching all along the banks of the Goomty..."[7] Henceforth, any traveler who wished to meet the ruler or go to the British quarters in the Residency, situated near the Nawab's palace, had to go through this newly developed urban space. Thus, the effort was not to develop the old city or the old palace complex but to create a whole new sector of the city, further aided by the use of a new architectural vocabulary i.e. "the English style." Not only did this area become the "*Raj Path*" (royal street) of Lucknow, as suggested by Hjortshoj, but also was what came to be called ‘New’ Lucknow.

This street named Hazratganj, joined the Farhad Baksh palace complex and Dilkusha, and had along it several ″European style″ houses and shops. These houses were neither alike nor did they follow a regular pattern. They all, in fact, had totally different characters and were strategically located along Hazratganj within large wooded compounds. Even though the vocabulary used for these buildings was European, the Persian theme seems to have been the underlying essence of the development also, as is apparent from the intentional movement from one garden structure to another, with the river being the dominant ordering feature. Architecturally, the whole scheme is further unified by the repetition of the facade of the Dilkusha on the building that

marked the end of Hazratganj. This is a common feature in Mughal and Nawabi structures called a *jawab* (answer), used to maintain symmetry within structures and complexes.

European Influence in town planning

Before coming to Lucknow, Nawab Saadat Ali Khan had lived in Benares and Calcutta, and his strong predilection for things European, including architecture, was probably fostered by the early education bestowed on him by Madame Galliez, a French lady from Chandernagore, near Calcutta. An Englishwoman who knew Saadat Ali well said he was "certainly not a Mussalman (Muslim) at heart, for I have frequently heard him ridicule their prejudices...he had unconsciously imbibed many English ideas...he understood the English language perfectly but could not pronounce the words." The Nawab frequently wore English clothes and enjoyed entertaining in a Western way. "The dinner was French, with plenty of wine" in "an English apartment, a band in English regimentals playing English tunes, a room lighted by magnificent girandoles [branched candle brackets], English tables, chairs, and looking glasses, an English service of plate..." Outside the court he pursued his English addictions, even sending for an English huntsman from Calcutta. It has been said that the Nawab was "highly gratified by any comparison between himself and the Prince of Wales;” later George IV who, ironically, liked to think of

himself as an oriental potentate and built his Royal Pavilion at Brighton in Indian style.

The three points mentioned above, namely the education of Saadat Ali Khan by a European lady, the Nawab's stay in Chandernagore and Calcutta, and finally his architectural enterprise in Lucknow, are all important factors. Calcutta was declared as the first capital of British India in 1773. It was also re-built after a major battle with the local Nawab Siraj-ud-Daula. In the early Presidency cities, which were Madras, Bombay and Calcutta, the architecture embodied a character of conquest by the British. The first two buildings erected were always the Fort and the Governor's house. Whereas the fort was for the safety of the white population, the Governor's house was a representation of authority.

In Calcutta, along with Fort Williams, the Governor House was erected. Around Fort Williams, for security measures, was a substantial clearing along which, in the 1780s, the Esplanade row or Chowranghee road was laid. It was a grand street with handsome houses. The Government house was placed on this street. An admiring visitor in the early years of the nineteenth century described Chowranghee as “an entire village of palaces.” Another Englishwoman in 1780 stated, “ as you come up past Fort William and the Esplanade it has a beautiful appearance. Esplanade-row as it is called, which fronts the Fort, seems to be composed of palaces; the whole range except what is taken up by

the Government and Council House, is occupied by the principal gentlemen in the settlement".[8]

In the words of Sten Nilsson, the "aim of the street was to create a front where all the wealth and power of the town were concentrated. In this way the vision of the travelers was encouraged."[9] It was probably the intention of the Nawab Saadat Ali Khan to have a similar street in Lucknow. We do know that, after the construction of Hazratganj, travelers were diverted from the dark narrow streets of old Lucknow to this broad new street. In addition, Saadat Ali's commission of the new houses, which were mostly along this stretch and very dissimilar, may have been an attempt to create a waterfront like the Presidency towns. The street of Hazratganj, which started from his Palace, Farhad Baksh, moved past various grand monuments to reach the Dilkusha.

Islamic influences in town planning

Although the British influenced the Nawab, his Persian lineage also had a strong influence on his town-planning scheme. Whereas the mansions in Calcutta were set along a straight line the *kothis* of Lucknow were set within large gardens and by many visitors and Residents it has been referred to as a paradise and a city of gardens. Many cities like Samarkand, Isfahan, and Agra laid down by Islamic rulers, had a waterfront studded by beautiful gardens.[10]

Babur, the first Mughal emperor, upon conquering India, began to lay down gardens as markers of territorial conquest. Instead of palaces, he preferred to live in gardens with pavilions, terraces, water channels, and cascades. He started developing many gardens on the eastern bank of the Yamuna river in Agra in the early sixteenth century. These were further developed in the subsequent reigns of Jahangir and Shah Jehan. The gardens, palaces, tombs, and fort of Agra were accessed by the river, which also provided a major means of transportation from Delhi to other cities such as Allahabad and Benares.[11] The scheme proposed by the Nawab was not unlike the Mughals. The new Lucknow was proposed along the wooded curve of the river Gomti. The river, like Yamuna, was also used for transportation in the Nawabi times and most of the buildings of this period face the river and have steps leading down to it.

The ‘new’ Lucknow

Although Nawab Saadat Ali Khan conceptualized a Lucknow like his Persian counterparts, as a city of gardens, the whole design was smoothly juxtaposed with the European theory of the English ‘picturesque’. Although he developed the whole area along Gomti as a series of gardens, they were not walled gardens but a series of informal gardens highlighted with ‘European’ style villas, placed at short distances from each other. Therefore, when visitors moved along this

stretch, they could feel the effect of these gardens and villas as one continuous experience. So even after the new Nawab came to the throne Lucknow remained a city of gardens, this time not because of the walled gardens but because of this vast green area along Gomti. After this, the last Nawab Wajid Ali Shah revitalizes the concept of walled gardens in Lucknow when he makes his new palace at Kaiserbagh.

Thus, after the conception of ‘new’ Lucknow, it came up in contrast to the ‘old’ city. Firstly, the old city was a like any other riverine Indian town or city which grew around the fort-palace, Macchi Bhawan, which was located on the highest mound of the city commanded three essential points of communication in Lucknow. However, the ‘new’ city developed along the banks of the river. The major axis of the city shifted from being perpendicular to the river to being parallel to the river. The riverbanks were reserved for the rulers and the nobility. The common people continued to stay in areas far away from the riverbanks. The old *chowk* street was no more the main thoroughfare of the city gave way to Hazratganj became the *rajpath*.

Secondly, the ‘old’ city was a circular and dense cluster of houses strictly guarded with gates. The streets were narrow and labyrinthine and major streets had shops on either side. All open spaces were contained as courtyards within the houses. The city on the periphery was surrounded by gardens and farming land thus enveloping

it in a belt. On the other hand, the 'new' Lucknow unfolded along the riverbanks, intercepted by 'villa' type houses surrounded by large gardens. Now the banks of the Gomti became the green belt studded with palatial houses. In most cases, both banks of the Gomti were used. The opposite bank became the main attraction for designing for views from the palaces and pleasure resorts.

Finally, but slowly, the 'old' dense city where the common man lived became influenced by the 'new' city and changed its character. The streets of the 'new' city were linear and less labyrinthine. They were much wider and could accommodate more vehicular traffic unlike the 'old' city. The typical indigenous dwelling of the 'old' city was built in attached rows with high walls for privacy and a blank brick wall facing the street and with a central court.[12] But this concept of a 'court' house slowly changed to a much more 'Europeanized' version of a house without a central court, situated in the center of a garden, with a dominant façade and rooms with clearly defined activities, very much like the ones we use today.

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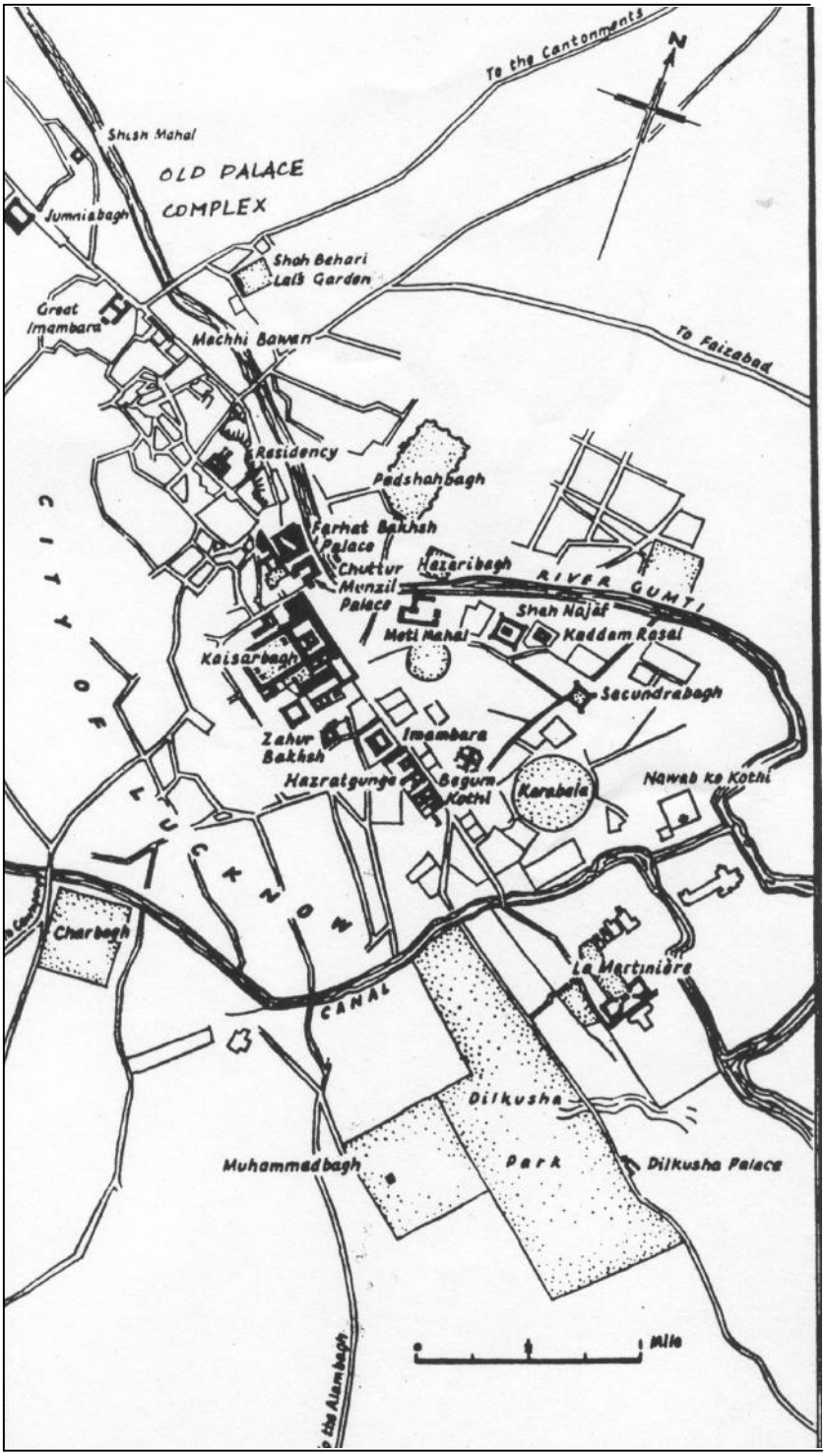
[1] Neeta Das. *Indian Architecture: Problems in the Interpretation of 18th and 19th century Architecture. A study of Dilkusha Palace, Lucknow.* pg. 17
[2] G Moorhouse. *India Britannica.* pg. 177
[3] R.L. Jones, *A Fatal Friendship.* pg. 184
[4] Veena T. Oldenburg, *The Making of Colonial Lucknow.* pg. 18
[5] R. L. Jones, op. cit., pg. 185
[6] ibid. pg. 187
[7] William Knighton,. *The Private life of an Eastern King.* pg. 8
[8] Norma Evenson. *The Indian Metropolis.*
[9] Sten Nilsson. *European Architecture in India.*
[10] Crowe, Sylvia (and others). *The Graden of Mughal India.*
[11] _ *Taj Mahal Cultural Heritage District: Development Plan.*
[12] Oldenburg, op. cit. pg. 13



5.1 Hazratganj street joining Farhad Baksh and Dilkusha palace

Kothis: Transplantation of European ideals with Islamic biases

Till the fifteenth century, English kings continued to live in fortified castle towns, designed both for living and security. But as peace prevailed and rule of force was replaced by a rule of law in the country, and security was not one of the important factors in house design, castles became redundant giving way to a new ‘power house’, the Country house. The country houses were large houses of the ruling class. They could work at a local level of a ‘manor house’, or at a national level as the seat of a Member of Parliament. People who lived in such houses were either powerful or rich with an interest in real estate thus country houses became a visible evidence of power and wealth. The country houses were elaborate structures with rooms for lavish living, entertaining, and pleasure. Till the seventeenth century the country houses continued to be built around two or more courtyards. Increasingly, however, with the influence of Italian and French architecture, there was a tendency to do without courtyards and cohere into a single symmetrical mass.[1] The idea of symmetry and order in architecture was carried further with the influence of Palladian ‘villas’ where the attempt was to fit the English sequence of a country house within a symmetrical plan.

These influences came from the Continent through the increasing publication of architecture books by British publishers. These books were of two types; first were the 'general' treatise like *De architectura* by Vitruvius, Serlio's *Architectura* and Palladio's *Quatro libri.* The second type of publications, which became popular by the end of the eighteenth century, was the collection of 'villa' designs like Colin Campbell's *Vitruvius Britannicus*. All these publications were supplemented with engravings, etchings, and mezzotints.[2] These books were used by the Gentlemen of the English society as an extension of their education in the arts and literature. A travel to the 'Classical' world to study the ruins of Greece and Rome was also an integral part of their education. Due to their knowledge of the arts and architecture, the guild of architecture passed from the hands of the craftsmen to these 'gentlemen' architects, which reached full importance with Inigo Jones. Of all the above publications, Palladio and his *Quatro libri* remained the most influential with the English architects.[3] The reason was threefold; firstly, his designs were simple which could be constructed cheaply in brick and stucco; secondly, despite being economical because of their classical language they lent an air of 'cultivated grandeur' to the country houses. Finally, they were very functional and utilitarian and could draw both services and dwelling spaces into one complex.[4]

By the mid-eighteenth century, Lucknow had many ‘villa’ type houses, called *kothis*, made by and for the European and Indian elite (Fig. 6.1). The concept of the ‘villa’ and many other European concepts came to Lucknow with the foreign soldiers and travelers. It is interesting to study why and how these ‘villas’ were transported to Lucknow in the eighteenth century. Between 1723 to 1856, the Nawabs of Lucknow became increasingly independent of the Mughal court in Delhi. For the Nawabs and the other newly formed Nawabi aristocracy, architecture became a physical manifestation of their new status. They wanted an architecture that not only symbolized their total dominance in Oudh, but also showed their severance from the Mughals. They did this by patronizing the European ideas that were infiltrating the Indian borders. European ideas were also employed for their ‘foreignness’, novelty, and a way of proclaiming their alignment to the new power block. Thus, when the ‘new’ Nawabs of Lucknow wanted to build their palaces, which were different to the Mughals, ‘villas’ were an ideal substitute. Europeans friends of the Nawabs sold them the idea of the ‘villa’ houses, which were the residence of the rich, and powerful in Europe and which could be built faster as compared to the traditional palace, more economically, and could be ‘designed’ by the Europeans based on the publications they carried aided from memory. They were also easy to construct in the existing brick and stucco traditions of Lucknow

Early Kothis

The first ‘villa’ was made much earlier in 1775, during the reign of Nawab Asaf-ud-Daula was designed by an amateur architect Antoine Polier, the court architect. Asfi Kothi, as it was called, was completed in 1780. It formed the central building of Nawab Asaf-ud-Daula’s Daulat Khana palace complex.[5] Asfi Kothi has a simple geometrical plan with a semi-circular colonnaded front portico. There is a double height central hall, which is surrounded by smaller rooms at two levels (Fig. 6.1).

Another ‘villa’ commissioned during the time of Asaf-ud-Daula is Bibiapur Kothi (Fig. 6.1). The architect of this building is not known but like Asafi Kothi it has a simple and symmetrical plan. It has three bays both on the ground and first floor, with the central bay being the living rooms and the other two being galleries. The façades of the building have a rusticated masonry ground floor contrasted with smooth double column, colonnade on the upper floor like the Louvre, Paris. However, unlike Asafi Kothi, which is situated in the heart of the city, Bibiapur is a country house. Both the buildings have circular staircases tucked away in corners. A larger ceremonial staircase was added to Bibiapur at a later date. The distinct French Neo-Classical influences of Bibiapur prompt one to project Claude Martin as its architect.

Claude Martin was a Frenchman who came to India as a French soldier. He switched allegiance to the British and came to Lucknow around 1775 with the Resident, John Bristow. He bought a lot of land in Lucknow and designed and built many buildings here, important among them being Luckypeera and Constantia. Lakh-i-peera, (later called Farhad Baksh), a lakh of trees, so called because of its wooded site, was a small house with a basement that was flooded by the Gomti waters to keep it cool. It was two-storied high with a simple geometrical plan, moat and drawbridge. Like Bibiapur it had a French Neo-Classical appearance with a pediment and colonnaded skyline.

Martin as his house and tomb designed Constantia in 1798 (Fig. 6.1, 6.6). It has a simple geometrical plan with the exterior articulated by pilasters of classical columns and statues, which may have been imported from France or were reproductions from photographs. Evidence show some to be built of local clay. Within the central bay of the house is a miniature plan of Taj Mahal, the basement of which serves as the tomb of the builder. Constantia is the first building, which has been improvised to suit the functions of the builder. It is also the first ‘villa’ where Indian influences can be seen despite its apparent European character. All other kothis were probably taken from pattern books like *Vitruvius Britannicus* as they show no deviation from European traditions. Although Constantia greatly influenced the later buildings of Lucknow, it was the *kothis* built by

Nawab Saadat Ali Khan on the Hazratganj street along the river Gomti, which changed the total urban scene of Lucknow.

Kothis built by Saadat Ali Khan

Nawab Saadat Ali Khan built all his kothis along Hazratganj with his own palace, Luckypeera, renamed Farhad Baksh, extended and later called Chattar Manzil, at one end of the street, and Dilkusha at the other. Since the Nawab had bought the Farhad Baksh already built from Claude Martin his other concern was the Dilkusha palace. The site and location of Dilkusha suggests that it was not only intended to mark the end of this triumphal way, but was also to be used as a hunting lodge and a country seat for the Nawab.

Nawab Saadat Ali Khan loved his Persian traditions and was impressed by the Europeans. Therefore, he needed an architect who was well versed both in Persian and European traditions to fulfill his dreams and ambitious plans. He found such a man in his aide-de-camp, earlier Acting Resident of Lucknow, and friend, Major Gore Ousley. Ouseley was born in Claramont in 1770 and went to India in a military capacity where he became the aide-de-camp of Nawab Saadat Ali Khan. After which he became an ambassador to the King of Persia in 1808. Ouseley was a scholar and connoisseur of Oriental culture.

It was because of his knowledge of the Persian traditions, that Gore Ouseley, a European gentleman, a soldier, and a connoisseur, was

entrusted the role of architect to the Nawabi dream. Ouseley was, like most other architects of his time, an amateur architect. His education and training in architecture must have come from the prolific European architectural publications of the seventeenth and eighteenth century and travel. What his education would not include was construction techniques and building technology. For this, he had to rely heavily on the local craftsmen and masons, as did all amateur architects.

When Ouseley was faced with the problem of designing Dilkusha, (which means pleasing to the heart), he went about 'choosing' a design that was 'befitting' to the status of the patron. This building was sited in a large wooded park. No known drawings of Dilkusha were made, however, considering the minuteness of detailing, it can be assumed that the palace was built under the strict supervision of the architect because it is highly improbable that the local craftsmen were knowledgeable of the classical orders.[6]

The building, which Gore Ouseley chose as a prototype for Dilkusha, was Seaton Delaval, a country house in Northumberland, Northern England, designed and built by Sir John Vanbrugh for Admiral George Delaval in 1717-1729 (Fig. 6.3, 6.4). The designs of Seaton Delaval were published in third volume of *Virtuvius Britannicus* in 1725. This book is a compilation of seventeenth and eighteenth century English architecture by Colin Campbell. Of the two hundred and thirty-eight buildings represented in the three volumes of *Virtuvius*

Britannicus, it is important to investigate why the architect, Gore Ouseley and Nawab Saadat Ali Khan chose Seaton Delaval as the prototype for the new palace in Lucknow.

Centralized and symmetrical main structures placed at the head of major axes of the entrance courts and approached frontally, are formal principles present in both Seaton Delaval and traditional Islamic structures. In both the cases, the courts are enclosed by colonnades and can be penetrated either along the major or minor axes, framed by entrance gates. Most common examples are the tombs of the Mughal emperors and Imambaras of the Nawabs.

Thus, the design of Seaton Delaval, with landscaped gardens on one front and large courts on the other, brought together both the interests and predilections of the English architect and the Nawab. Whereas the architect chose the design based upon its appropriateness to the situation, the Nawab was looking for familiar architectural forms. Like other aspects of their relationship, the design of Seaton Delaval offered the possibility of compromise between the two diverse cultures.

Once the Nawab and Gore Ouseley had chosen Seaton Delaval as a model and a site outside the city limits for the intended palace, the next step was to execute the building. Before the execution, however, Ouseley modified the design to suit the site and client. The first major change from Seaton Delaval that Ouseley introduced in Dilkusha was

the inverting of the placement of the building, making the garden facade the entry, fronting the river like most buildings of Lucknow. The second major change was the removal of the triangular pediment from both the front and back facades in Dilkusha. After changing these two formal qualities of Seaton Delaval, Ouseley introduced gilded conical roofs on each octagonal stair tower, making the building look more Islamic. Also, in the absence of any drawings published in *Vitruvius Britannicus* for the stable and the kitchen block, Ouseley was forced to develop these elevations. Other than this, there are other minor differences between the drawings of Seaton Delaval and Dilkusha.

The Dilkusha Palace participated in both the private and public life of the Nawabi court. Whereas it was used as a hunting lodge by the Nawabs it also served as the starting point of any ceremonial procession, which included the birth, wedding, or coronation ceremony of any member of the royal family. Processions were also created for the celebration of festivals or important occasions like the arrival of an important guest. Dilkusha also served as a guesthouse for the European officers and other important guests of the Nawab. At other times it was used as a hunting lodge by him, usually accompanied by his native and English friends.

The palaces of the Nawabs were expected to fulfill a wide range of functions. A palace such as this would have the ruler’s private

apartments, *zenana,* kitchens, quarters for bodyguards and servants, stables for the animals, baths, toilets for both sexes, and many subsidiary activities. Whereas the traditional palaces were spatially very complex, Dilkusha was a centrally organized structure with a simple, symmetrical plan. It took the ingenuity of Gore Ouseley to transform this simple plan to accommodate complex relationships of sequences and hierarchies. He relied on his basic intention of manipulating the building into a four sided structure, with an entrance on every face, thus, being able to offer at least four major and distinct movement patterns: for the Nawab, his Begums, his visitors and his servants. Also, instead of using a traditional horizontal palace layout, Ouseley stacked the spaces vertically, in order of their use and importance. In this way he could accommodate the complete functional requirements of a Nawabi palace.

Kothis commissioned by Saadat Ali were probably designed in a fashion similar to Dilkusha. While living there he had several houses built nearby. He constructed Tehri kothi, the crooked house, also known as General Sahib ki kothi, near the Chattar Manzil complex. After this, he built Lal Barahdari for his court; this is now a library and was known as the Royal Palace. In addition to this, he built a new kothi on the other side of the river, called Dil Aram, heart's repose, which could be reached by a bridge of boats (Fig. 6.11). He built another kothi called Hayat Baksh, life giving (Fig. 6.13). In addition to

these houses, the Nawab constructed the Munavar Baksh, light giving, and the Chaupar stables. Kankar wali kothi, Zahur Baksh, and Nur Baksh (D.M. residence today) were also built around the same time. Saadat Ali Khan also commissioned Musa Bagh and Khurshid Manzil. Claude Martin probably designed Musa Bagh and Capt Duncan Macleod designed Khurshid Manzil. It is used as the La Martiniere girls school today. All these *kothis* fall along the Hazratganj street on the banks of the river Gomti, between the Residency and Dilkusha. The buildings were also very similar in nature. They were probably carefully chosen from pattern books and executed with little or no change. However, some retained their purpose as a country house like Musa bagh and Bibiapur, whereas others became city mansions. Much later Tarawali kothi, commissioned by Nasir-ud-din Haider in 1830 as an observatory, and, Alam Bagh, commissioned by Wajid Ali Shah in 1850, were made which also retained the authenticity of the European traditions. The same cannot be said for the kothis built after Saadat Ali Khan (Fig. 6.1).

Chattar Manzil

Originally, Farhad Baksh was a free standing structure but the Nawab had it enclosed within a walled garden with a lake in the center (Fig. 6.5). His original intention was probably that all the ‘European’ style buildings should be seen as separate identities, but could not reconcile

to this western concept and added subsidiary buildings later to give it a more Islamic character. According to Rosie Llewellyn Jones, the intention of the Nawab was to make a complex with "European buildings complementing each other across a carefully planned central garden." She continues to say that gardens, pavilions, marble tanks, and gateways achieved an oriental flavor. By the time of Nawab Nasir-ud-din Haider, the Farhad Baksh complex had at least thirteen buildings and was renamed Chattar Manzil. Chattar Manzil was started by Ghasi-ud-din Haider and is so named because of a large guilded dome at the top. It is basically a ground floor structure with a basement like Farhad Baksh. Its façade has been made to look higher than its one floor by the addition of two upper floors made solely for that purpose. Many buildings of Lucknow have been given such a treatment to make them looker bigger and grander than what they usually are. It has many rooms but its authenticity cannot be ascertained because of the innumerable changes the building has undergone. The same is true for most of the other kothis in question. The palace complex itself had four buildings: Farhad Baksh was extended to form the Chattar Manzil, the smaller Chattar Manzil or Gulistan-i-iram, and the Darshan Bilas which formed an ‘impressive frontage or closure at the end’ of the Hazratganj street[7] (Fig. 6.2, 6.9, 6.10, 6.11, 6.12).

Later kothis

However, none of these buildings had the Palladian simplicity and geometric order of Dilkusha. They had become more and more 'Indianized'. The centralized building did not suit the life style of the Nawabs. The later kothis started incorporating functions like Imambaras and mosques which had a typical architectural style very different from that of the Europeans. The later kothis even had courtyards. They had multiple rooms laid out in a complex pattern, and were more than one floor high. Their facades continued to be 'European' but the planning was totally changed. Unlike Dilkusha where the architect tried to improvise keeping the basic concepts of the original building intact, the new kothis presented a very complex structure. A good example of such a building is the Darshan Bilas or Chaurukhi kothi, house with four faces, which has four different facades reflecting three buildings of Lucknow: Dilkusha, Musa Bagh, and Farhad Baksh (Fig. 6.10). Another example is the Roshan-ud-daula Kothi (Fig. 7.17), Begum Kothi, and Tarawali kothi (Fig. 6.7, 6.8). Kothi Roshan-ud-Daula was made by Roshan-ud-daula, a minister of Nasir-ud-din Haider. Wajid Ali Shah confiscated it when he made the palace complex and renamed *Kaiser Pasand*. It houses the Uttar Pradesh State Archeology department today. Tarawali kothi was designed around 1830 during the reign of Nasir-ud-din as an observatory for the British.[8] Today the State Bank of India uses it.

Amjad Ali Shah built Begum kothi in 1844 for his second wife Malka Ahed. It was demolished some years back and was located at the site of the present day Janpath market.

The later kothis not only lost their basic planning and formal qualities they even lost the basic concept of a ‘villa’ and country house. By and by, large houses came to be known as kothis. This ‘new’ prototype dwelling developed initially for the Nawabs and the elite, could later be built for anyone who could afford a large house. But the influence of these kothis was far reaching. The twenty first century Lucknow is a result of the visionary town planning of Saadat Ali Khan and the ‘transplanted’ kothis like Dilkusha. These houses, designed and executed by amateur architects like Martin and Ouseley, assisted in directing Lucknow towards becoming a ‘modernist’ city. Sixteenth and seventeenth century Lucknow, in its dominant culture and form, had been essentially Islamic with a dense and labyrinthine urban fabric in which were embedded courtyard houses as the basic domestic form. These houses were planned around a central inner courtyard, with covered and semi covered multifunctional rooms around it. The ‘villa’ type kothis were in marked contrast to such houses. Thus the first influence of the kothis was that freestanding houses came in vogue. The same building type was used for commercial and institutional buildings.

Secondly, they were freestanding, vertically stacked structures with dominant facades. Contrary to the courthouse they demanded a space around them from which they could be appraised. This new prototype greatly influenced urban morphology and demanded a redevelopment. With the development of Hazratganj not only was a new Lucknow developed, it brought about a new definition of urban space and city planning. After Hazratgaanj, with its grand kothis, all streets of new Lucknow became wider and the density of the subsequent new sectors became looser.

Finally, the 'villas' not only transported a 'new' building type, a 'new' architectural vocabulary, and 'new' understanding of urban space, it brought with it the Neo-Classical ideals of the Western world. The old rule of the Mughals was rejected and a search for the 'new' order began. In architecture, European ideals substituted for the old order. Revivals and the pluralistic approach can be seen in the design of all the buildings in this period. Buildings could be built in more styles than one. The hybrid nature of the language became the 'style' of the period. The construction of buildings passed from the medieval masons into the hands of the new professionals, the 'architects'. Medieval Lucknow slowly metamorphosed into Neo-classical 'Nawabi' Lucknow to the modern city of today.

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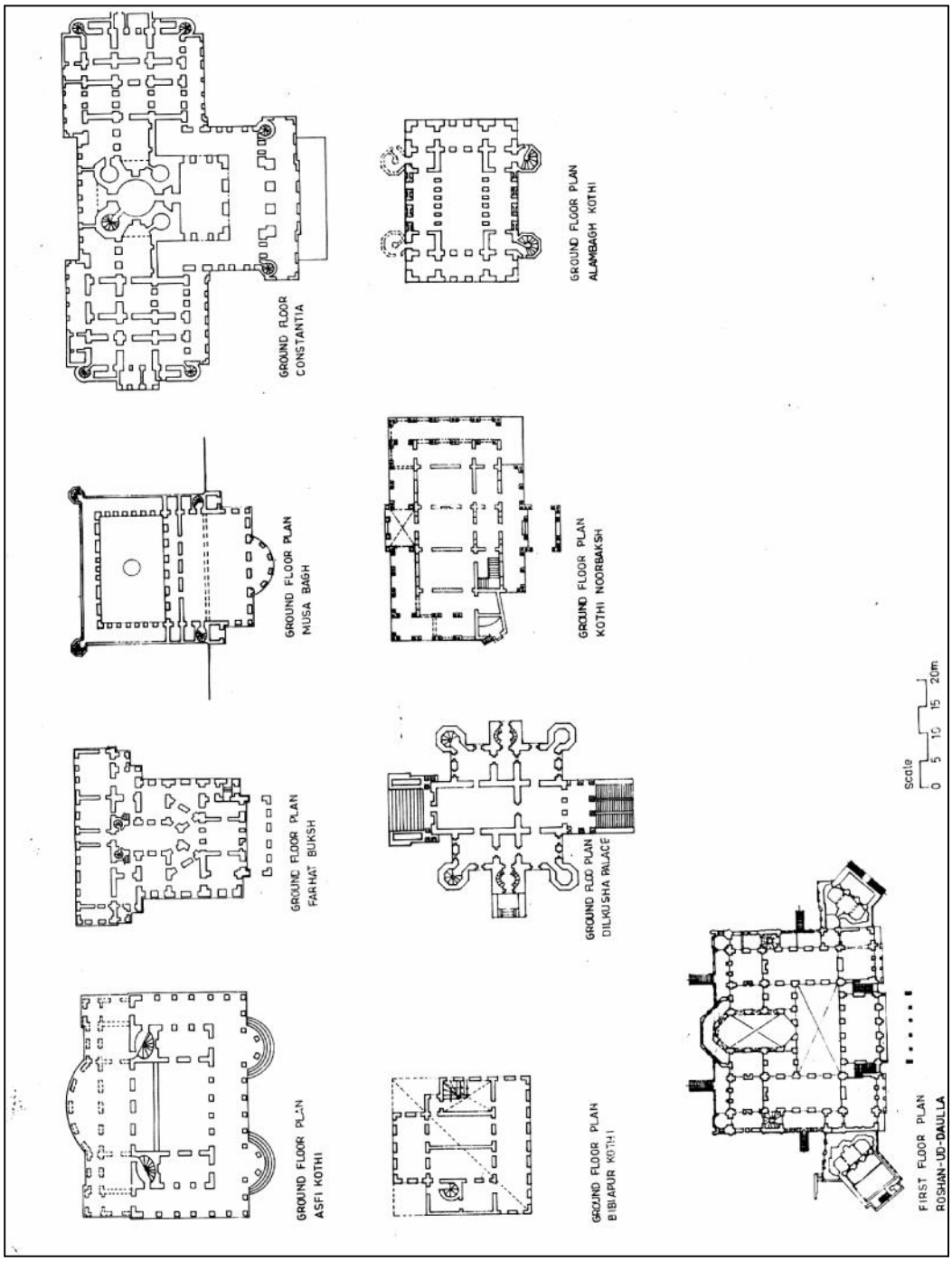
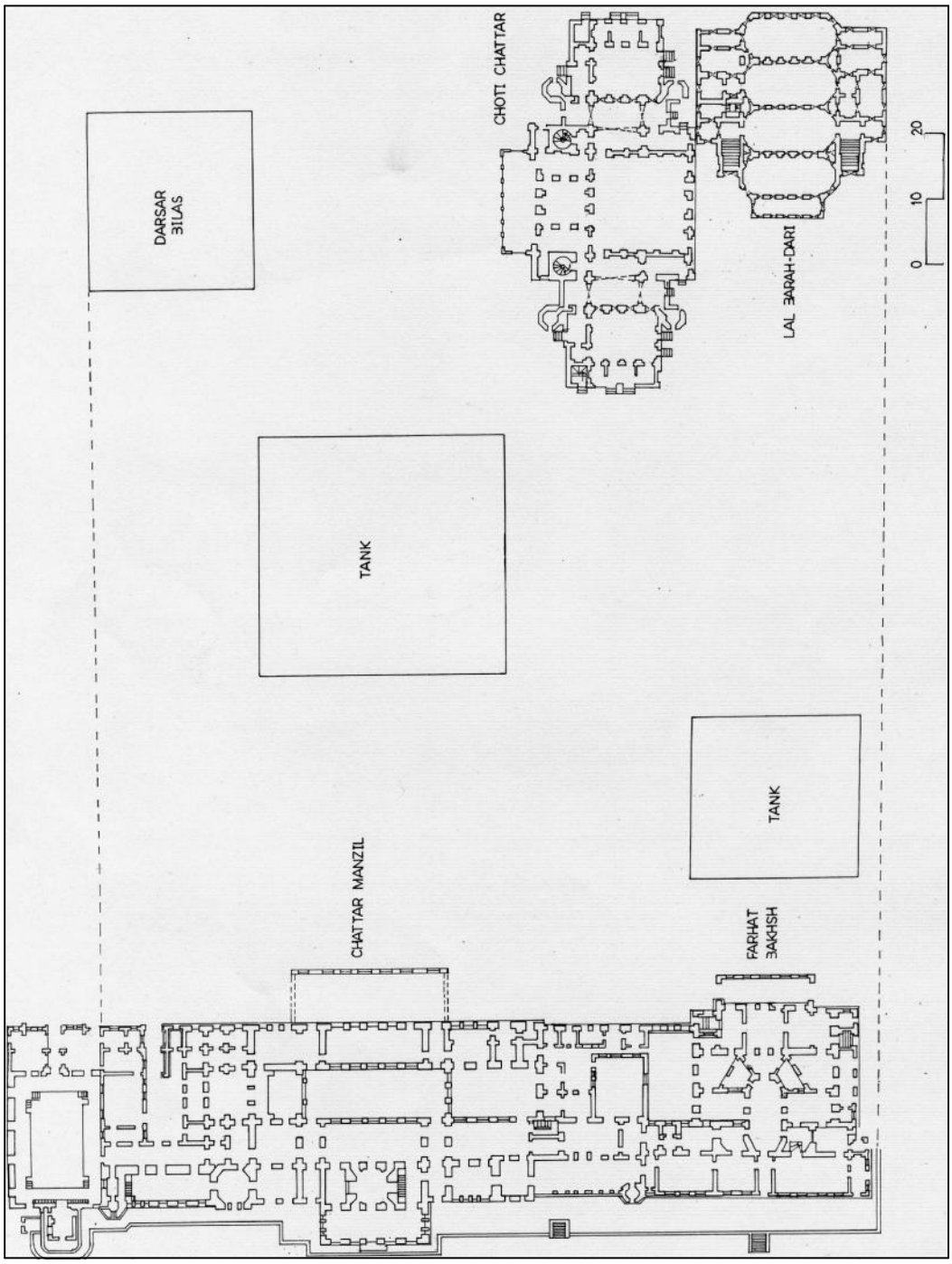
[1] Mark Girouard. *Life in the English Country House.*
[2] John Archer. *The Literature of British Domestic Architecture-1715-1842.*
[3] Ralph Dutton. *The English Country house.*
[4] James A. Ackerman, *Palladio's villas.*

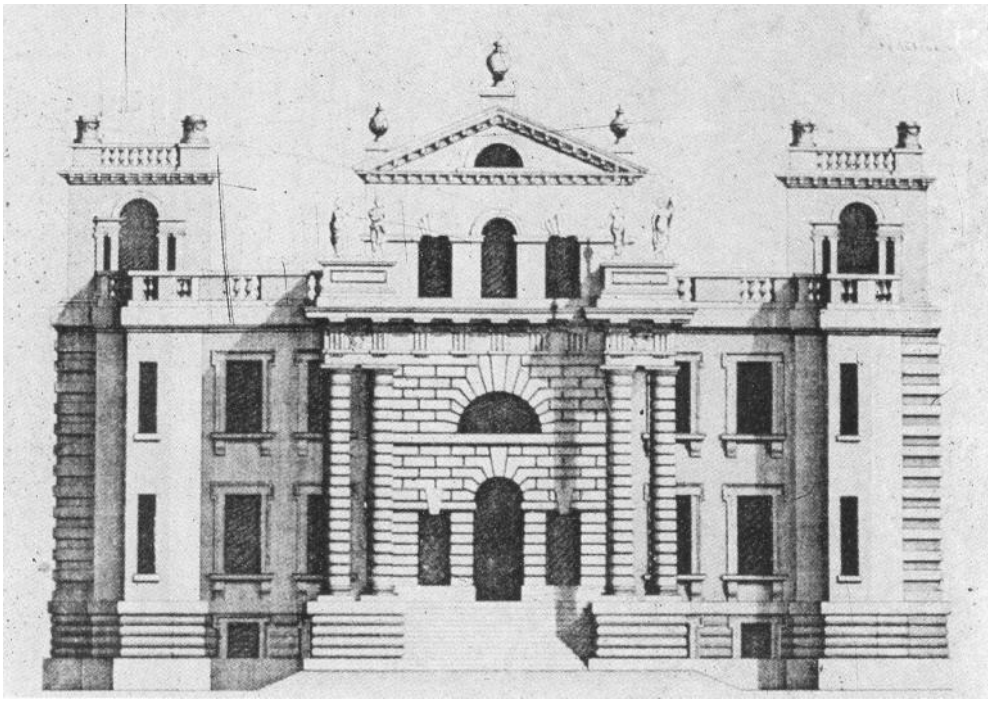
[5] R.L. Jones, *Memories of a city*. (ed. by Violette Graff). pg. 18
[6] Neeta Das, Dilkusha, pg. 31
[7] Jones, *A Fatal Friendship*, op. cit. pg. 186
[8] Banmali Tandan. *The Architecture of Lucknow and its Dependencies, 1722-1856.* pg. 110

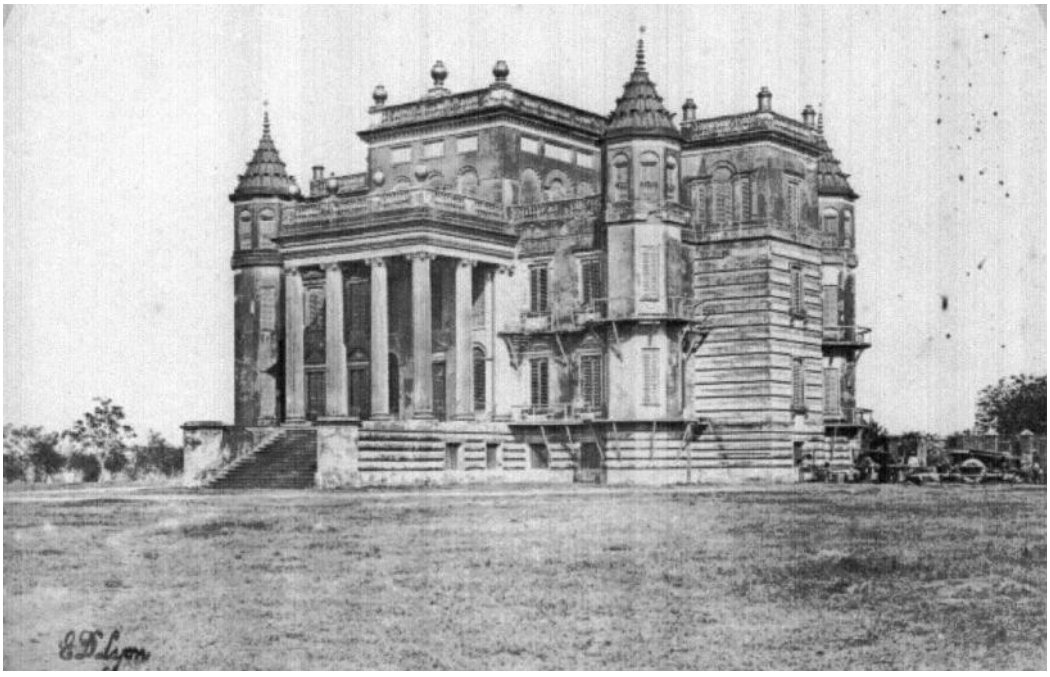


6.1 Floor plans of Kothis of Lucknow



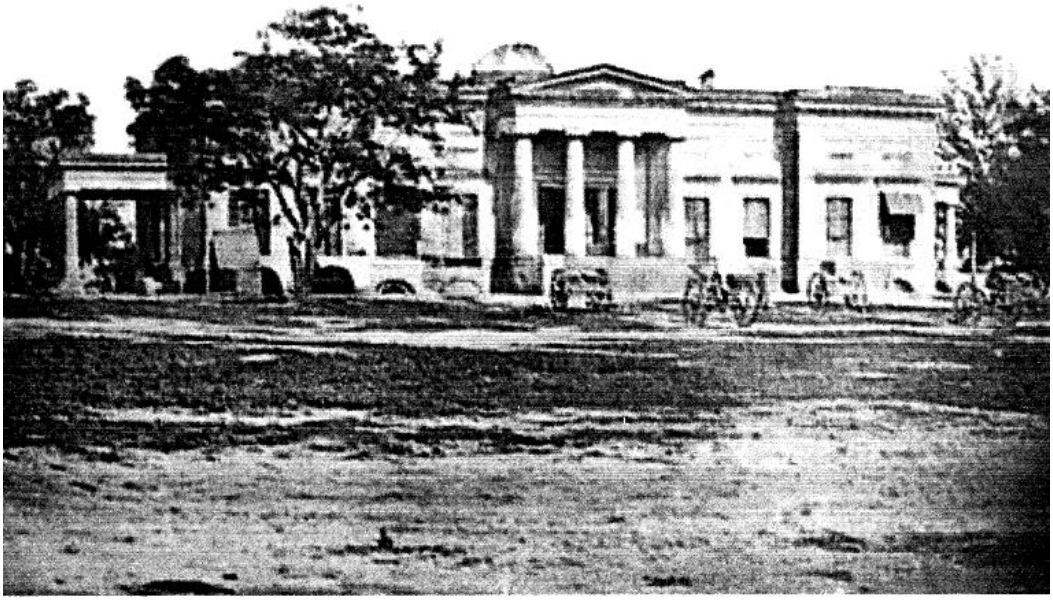
6.2 Plan of the Chattar Manzil palace complex

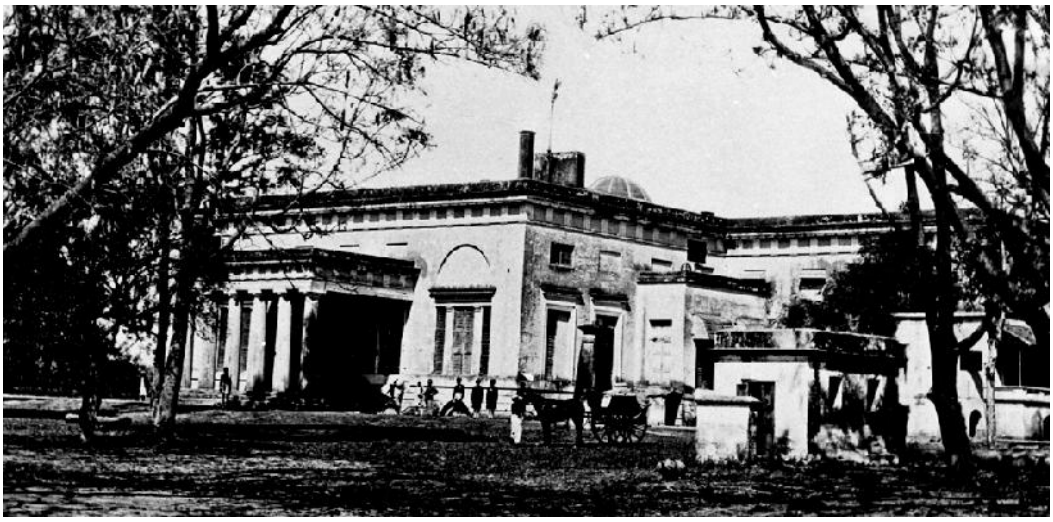




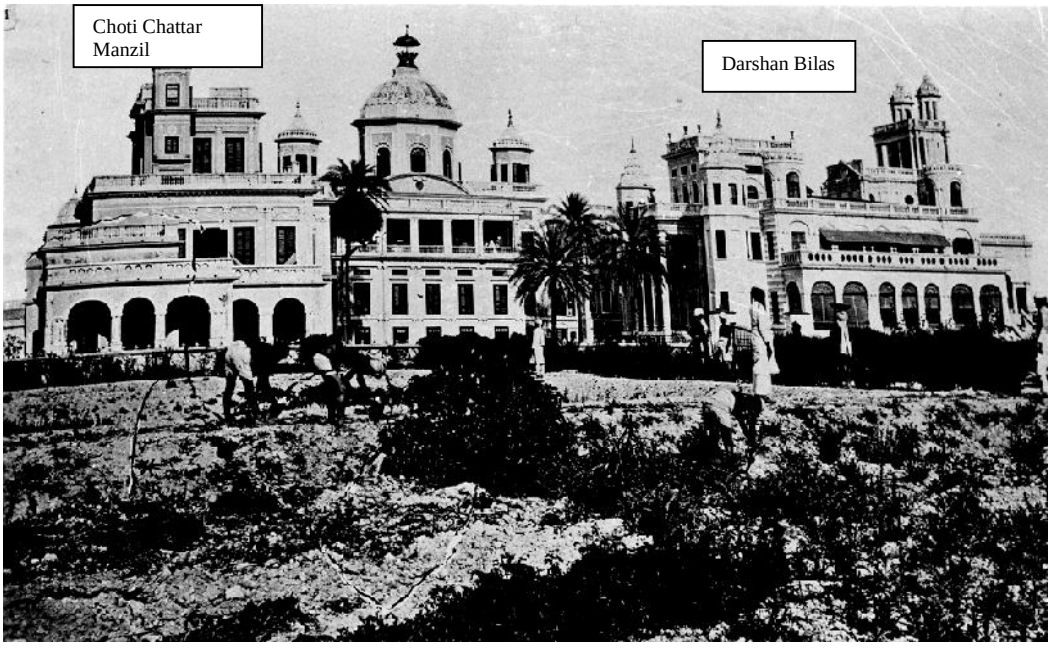
6.3 Façade of Seaton Delaval
6.4 View of Dilkusha, which was a copy of Seaton Delaval

6.5 Fore court of Farhad Baksh
6.6 View of Constantia from the river

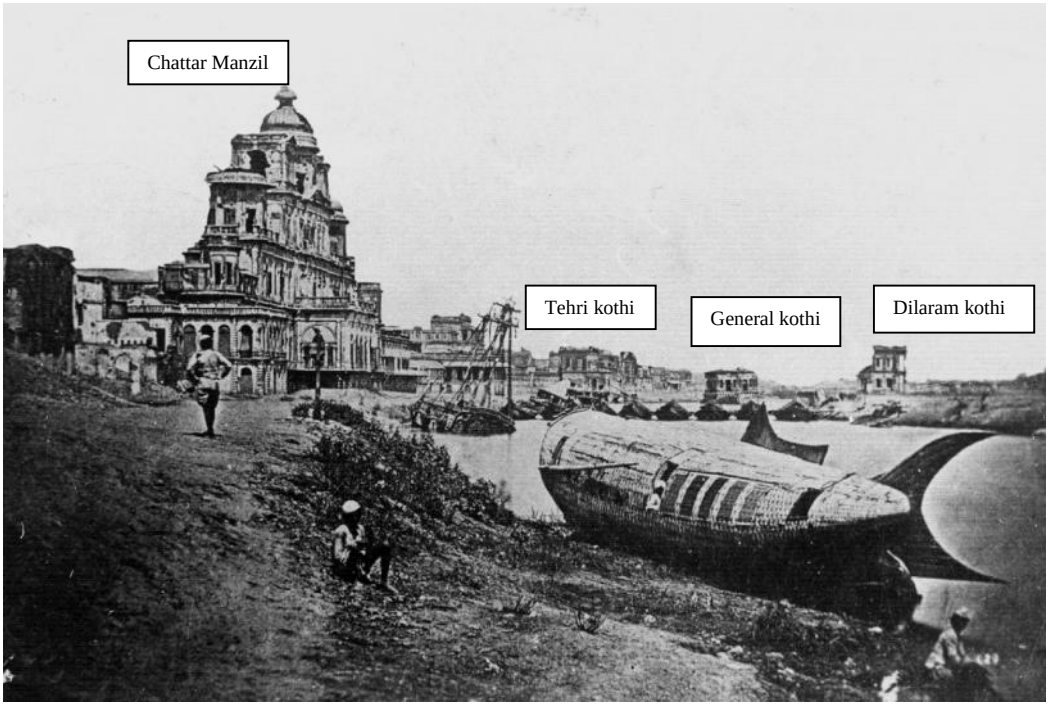


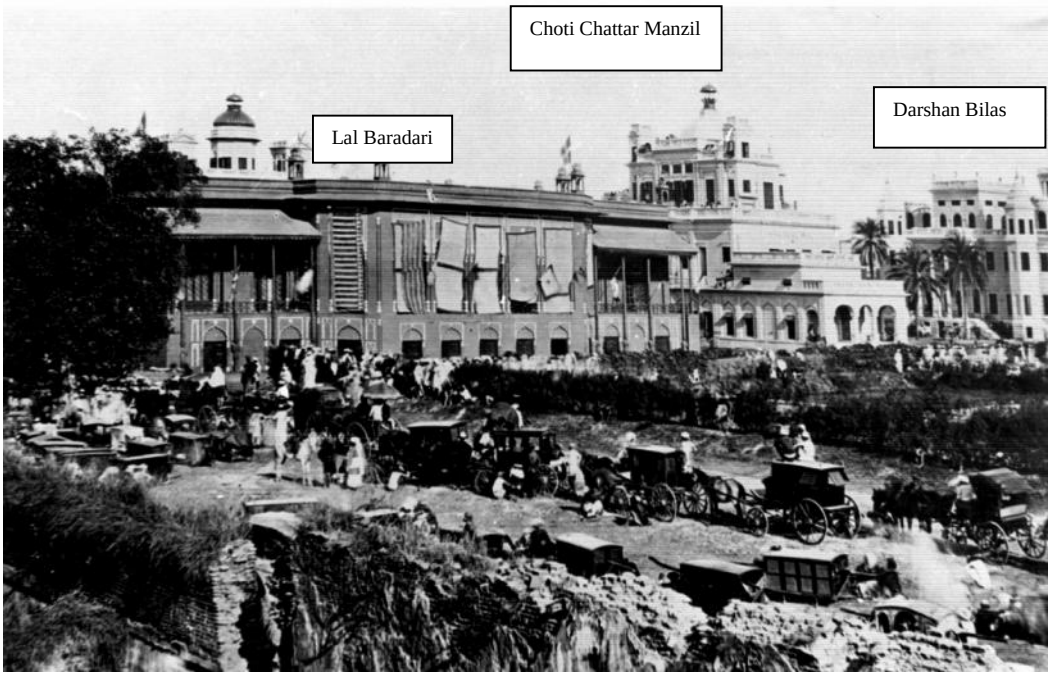


6.7 Front view of Tarawali kothi
6.8 Side view of Tarawali kothi



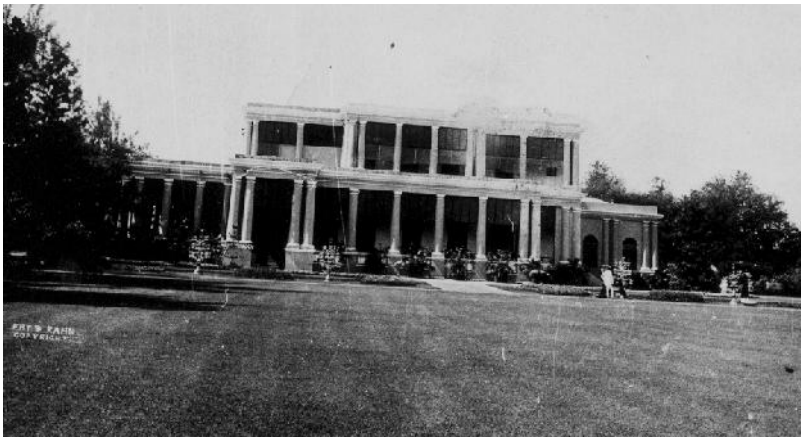
6.9 View of Chattar Manzil palace
6.10 Entrance of Chattar Manzil palace

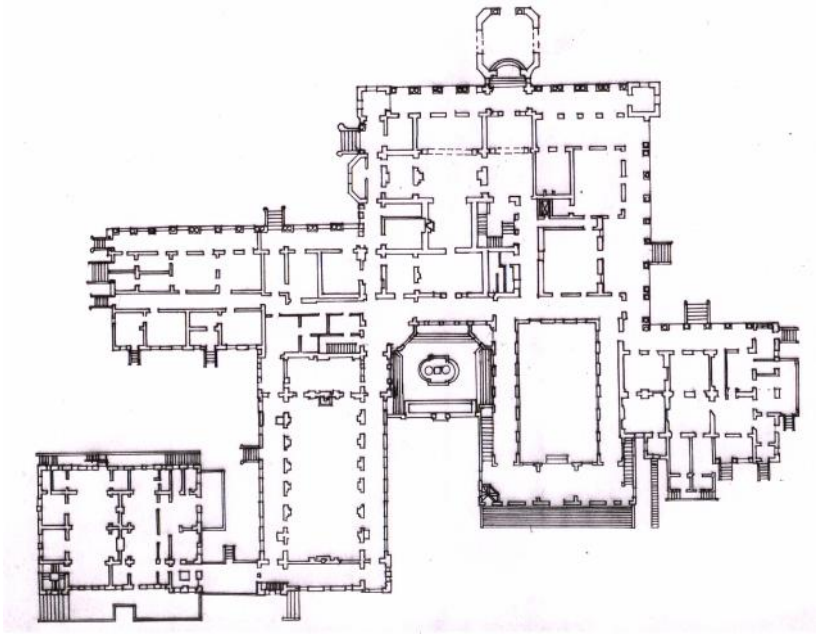




6.11 View of Chattar Manzil palace from the river
6.12 Entrance of the Chattar Manzil palace complex

6.13 Kothi Hyaat Baksh, the Governor house today





6.14 Ground Floor Plan of Raj Bhawan

Kaiserbagh: Re-iterating the Paradise theme

Influences of European architecture had arrived in Lucknow as early as 1780 when Asfi Kothi was made in the Daulat Khana complex. After that many more similar ‘villa’ type ‘kothis’ in ‘European’ style were made in Lucknow, especially for residential use. Houses like the Dilkusha were exact copies of buildings in England. However, by the middle of the nineteenth century, they had lost their purity of styles and became more ‘Indianized’. The reason being that the centralized planning and vertical stacking of activities of the villas did not suit the Indian way of living. This is more prominent in the case of royal Muslim households. These structures did not give the occupants, especially the ladies, the privacy that was required in their *purdah* living. Also, the royal households needed a variety of structures to fulfill their elaborate lifestyles that could not be fitted in these buildings. Some scholars are also of the opinion that the Nawabs and their officials reverted back to their traditional roots as the relationship between the Nawabs and the British had become sour and the easy exchange of ideas of the late eighteenth century had stopped. The design of Kaiserbagh palace complex is the outcome of this shift, from ‘using’ European ideals to re-iterating traditional Islamic concepts, most important being courtyard planning and the paradise theme.

Gardens of Lucknow

The English word 'paradise' is simply a transliteration of the Old Persian word *Pairidaeza* referring to a walled garden; *pairi* means around and *daeza* is wall.[1] The Paradise promised in the Holy Quran is a beautiful garden, with shade and water as it's ideal elements. The Persian concept of the paradise garden was brought to India by Babur, and developed extensively by the later Mughals.[2] The recreation of paradise as a garden is a tradition passed onto the Nawabs of Lucknow by the Mughals so much so that it has often been referred to as a city of gardens[3] (Fig. 7.1). Nawab Saadat Ali Khan proposed his town-planning scheme of 'new' Lucknow based on the 'paradise' theme of his predecessors. Even small residences in Lucknow had gardens known as '*Payin Bagh*' (private garden). The gardens had fancy names, which usually derived their origin from the name of the builders like Kaiserbagh, Nawab Wajid Ali Shah was also known as Kaiser. They could also be named after the contents of the garden like Anguri Bagh (Garden of Grapes) or were just Persian names like Dilkusha (Heart's delight).

Gardens of Lucknow can be divided into five types. The first types were orchards, which had special varieties of trees and plants. The second types of gardens were used for animal fights whereas the third types of gardens were for various community activities like fairs and *melas*. The fourth were the mausoleum gardens whereas the fifth

types were the gardens that were made in or around the ‘villas’ or ‘kothis’ and used as country retreats for the elite. The first three types of gardens are part of the ‘old’ city where the main urban form was a dense mass of built form, introverted into the courtyard with a ‘green belt’ around and located near the river. The mausoleum gardens are similar to those built by the Mughals and were later used within some of the Imambara complexes. It is the fifth type, gardens set within or around palaces that formed the main attraction of the ‘new’ city of Lucknow, the most glorious being the Kaiserbagh palace.

Orchards

Orchards and plantations were concentrated to the west and the south of the old city. A low wall to demarcate it from the other *baghs* usually marked these. Large tanks that were made nearby watered these gardens. One such example is the Bakshi ka talab, built during the time of Nasiruddin Haider, which adjoins a garden and a house. Square in plan, it has steps leading down to it from all sides. Another such tank was Tikait Rai Talab built near Tikait Rai Bagh between 1775-97. It is a large square structure built with lakhori bricks and has steps on all four sides. There are two pavilions on the north and south side. These tanks, as they were far away from the river, used rain as the main source of water. They were developed on the lowest part of the property so that they formed effective catchments areas for water.

Sometimes *pucca* structures were not made and only a *kutcha* pond was dug out. Wells and water canals leading from the river were also used to water the gardens. Both the tanks exist today.

Gardens like Vilayati Bagh were developed as a garden for imported plants whereas Gulab Bari, laid out by Amin-ud-daula near the clocktower in Aminabad, was for rose shrubs imported from England. The present day zoo, named Wingfield park by the British, or Banarasi Bagh, as we know it today, was also an orchard called Hazrat Bagh.[4] Vilayati Bagh, established along southeastern end of the city by Ghasiuddin Haider was situated along the river. It was a large rectangular area enclosed by a high wall, to the north of which was a spacious flight of steps leading down to the river edge. On the south side it had arched chambers with an entrance gateway. It also had pavilions and water channels. The Times correspondent, Russell, who visited Lucknow in 1858, describes it as:

> " It must have been a pretty spot, opening on the river by a flight of steps, with alcoves, covered walks, orange trees, kiosks, abundant statuary in plaster, a platform for dancing, an orchestra, the ornamented roofs covered with gilded bosses and spires, tall cypresses and tamarinds bordered the orange plantations, and a wilderness of flowers sprang up in their neglected beds. Everything was fast going to decay: the

> irrigation canal was choked up, the fountains were dry; the statues falling to pieces, the lattices in the kiosks broken."

Charbagh, where the railway station is housed today, was a garden developed by Asaf-ud-Daula. A visitor has described it as follows:

> "Charbagh is a congregation of four gardens, as its name implies. It was a pretty extensive garden in the time of Asafuddowlah; there were many large wells whose water was conducted everywhere by conduits and fountains. Innumerable paths communicated with every part, recess and pavilion of the garden. It is now in ruins."[5]

Animal parks

Animal fights were a past time of the Nawabs and many gardens were made to keep these animals and to stage their fights. Knighton as below has described Chandgunj[6] designed for the same reason:

> "We were in a large walled in garden in Chandgunj, one of the park palaces where animal fights often took place. The garden might have been some 3 or 4 acres in extent and was surrounded by a high wall…we were all assembled at Chandgunj in the gallery of a courtyard; about sixty yards square in extent…a courtyard with buildings all around, and a verandah below. Thick bamboo railing had been put up in front of the verandah, so as to

completely encircle the courtyard, and to form a sort of enlarged cage…"[7]

Hazari Bagh and Huzur Bagh were two other gardens used for keeping animals. All these parks were across the river and along the Badshah Bagh, the present day University. Hazari Bagh was probably where Police Lines is located now and Huzur Bagh was the place where Colvin Talugdar College has been built. Animal fights were staged here and viewed from across the river by Nawab Nasiruddin Haider. The fights were between horses, tigers, elephants, and rhinos. Later this was also used as parade ground for Wajid Ali Shah's army. Hazari bagh is said to also have a thousand (*hazaar*) mango trees and thus its name.[8]

Mela grounds

Aishbagh, developed by Asaf-ud-Daula to celebrate his son Wazir Ali's marriage, was an enclosed garden with gates on four sides. Later annual fairs were held there during the month of *sawan,* (monsoon). Little of Aishbagh is left except a baradari. A baradari is a pavilion with technically *barah* or twelve *dar* or doors, three on each face. Such pavilions have been used extensively in gardens in Lucknow. From such a simple structure they have been elaborated and used for many other purposes. Lal baradari was used as a throne room and Kaiserbagh baradari as an Imambara. Nishat Bagh, situated in Tikaitganj, the

property of Tikait Rai, was another walled garden of Asaf-ud-Daula and was used as a Karbala for some time.[9]

Mausoleum gardens

The fourth type were the gardens in and around the mausoleum of the rulers like the one at Gulab Bari in Faizabad. Gulab Bari, the tomb of Shuja-ud-Daula, is a structure set within a *charbagh* pattern garden. The garden is a square and has its principal axis well defined with an Imambara, a mosque, and residence placed within. The garden is well articulated with water channels, fountains, and manicured lawns. No similar tomb was built in Lucknow but the same concept was used and further elaborated within the Imambara complexes built by the later Nawabs.

Country retreats

Country retreats like Musa Bagh, Sikandar Bagh, Badshah Bagh, and Alam Bagh were 'villas' set within large gardens and were used for pleasure and entertainment by the Nawabs and other elites. Badshah Bagh, developed by Nasiruddin Haider, was a favourite retreat of his wife Qudsia Begam, built under the supervision of Raja Bakhtawar Singh for a cost of Rupees thirty five lacs, spread from the river Gomti to the present Kapoorthala complex. Fanny Parks has described as:[10]

> “It is a garden with two buildings, one had arch type of roof with square stones placed like the chess board. The other is a baradari made of marble with golden ‘jali’ on one side to segregate the ladies observing purdah.”

Another account of Badshah bagh suggests:

> “Badshahbagh is the most luxurious palace I have seen in India. A large space has been enclosed as a garden within a high wall; it contains three houses and two gateways; the first house is a most delightful one; all you can wish for in such a climate as this; beautiful rooms, with six fountains playing in them, and everything in fairyland style; then such a hammam, or steam baths containing rooms heated to different temperature, the heat of each increasing until you arrive at the steam bath itself…. The apartments are built of white variegated marble; and the roofs arched; the rooms were so luscious…Crossing from this to the center of the gardens we entered another elegant building, supported on white marble pillars, beautifully finished, and adorned and furnished with crimson and gold…On the left of the garden is a third palace, sacred to the ladies of the Zenana; this house is built of marble and covered with flower work of pounded sheets with the appearance of silver, giving an eastern style to the palace. There are two handsome gateways, a steam engine to supply the fountains, and a superb tiger in the cage.

> Every luxury of life may be obtained within the walls of this garden; it is at present scarcely finished, but displays great taste and beauty." [11]

Many cockfights and other functions were also held here. Within the complex, there was an enclosure used as a ladies park with lady gardeners. After Qudsia Begam's death, it was given to the Raja of Kapoorthala. During the colonial rule, the Canning College was located within its premises. Today the University of Lucknow is housed within this garden and none of its grandeur remains. However, one can see one of its gateways, a baradari, and some water channels.

Nawab Wajid Ali Shah developed Sikandra Bagh on the insistence of his wife Sikandra Begum (Fig. 7.2, 7.3, 7.4). It has an enclosed garden with a high wall with battlements and a double storied gate along with a mosque. In its centre was a double storied house used by the King and his harem.[12] Another similar retreat was Alambagh developed by Wajid Ali Shah for his Begum Alam Ara Khas Mahal (Fig. 7.7, 7.8,7.9). Its gate was used to hang a number of freedom fighters and has therefore assumed double importance today although very little of it survives. Musa Bagh was laid out under the supervision of Azam-ud-Daula, a noble of Asaf-ud-Daula around 1803, for the Nawab Saadat Ali Khan. This retreat has a small villa placed on one end of the walled garden facing the river Gomti[13] (Fig. 7.5, 7.6). All three retreats exist today.

What is common among all the above-mentioned gardens, despite their diverse size and use, is that they are all walled gardens. From the old maps one can see that maybe except Dilkusha, and a few others, all gardens had a square plan. Descriptions of these gardens always mention fruit and flowering trees, with water fountains, and regular walkways. All this goes to prove that these were *char bagh* gardens, re-iterating the paradise theme, a favorite with all Muslim rulers, Mughals and Nawab alike. The gardens also had *baradaris* for rest, elaborate entrance gateways for security, and sometimes small out houses and other structures. Whenever the gardens had a house they were usually a European 'villa' type building, which was either placed at one end of the garden as in Musa bagh, or in the center as in the case of Alam bagh. They also sometimes had a mosque but none of them was designed for daily living. The only complex designed on the paradise theme and for living was the Kaiserbagh palace, made by the last Nawab Wajid Ali Shah between 1848 and 1850.

Kaiserbagh

Wajid Ali Shah visualised a palace complex, which amalgamated all the intricacies of a paradise garden. Paintings and photographs taken before 1857 shows Kaiserbagh to have a manicured *char bagh* garden in the heart of the palace (Fig. 7.12). As compared to the other palace complexes, Daulat Khana and Chattar Manzil, Kaiserbagh is probably

the only one that was designed before execution, and therefore had homogeneity of concept and style that was missing in the earlier two complexes.

The Kaiserbagh palace complex had three principal parts and each had multiple courts (Fig. 7.10). The first part was the public areas where the king met his officials and subjects and where large *melas* and functions like coronation took place. This area was open to the public and subjects of the king. The courts of this part had religious buildings like the Friday mosque and temples. The second important part of the palace complex was the residential quarters of the king along with his offices, library, treasury, *hammams*, private mosque etc. And finally there were the residential quarters of the queens.[14] Since each Muslim ruler had a large number of queens, the zenana formed a bulky part of the whole palace complex. This was located in the innermost part of the complex and was strictly guarded by female attendants and eunuchs. Only the king and select guests were allowed to enter these spaces. [15]

The palace was approached from the Hazratganj Street and entered from an open space in front of the *Tarawali kothi* (SBI guesthouse). The entrance street was lined on one side by stables. The visitor would enter through a massive gate known as the *Jilaun Khana* (front house). By referring the maps made during the 1850s it may be assumed that this was the gate where the Press club is located today.

The king used to give audience to the public from this gate. It was high enough to allow the royal procession on elephants to pass through. Some accounts of travellers note that from the *Jilaun Khana* the prisoners were conducted to the prison towards the end of the passage.

Turning to the right after entering from the *Jilaun Khana* the visitor came to *China Bazaar* so named because it probably sold or was decorated with material bought from China. A traveller in 1883 also mentions that there was a Rahes manzil also near the bazaar.[16] At the end of the *China Bazaar* was the *Mermaid gate* or the *China Bazaar* gate. Nawab Wajid Ali's Prime Minister Nawab Ali Naqi Khan used to stay on top of this gate so that he could be near the King if needed. None of these gates exist today but some idea of their architecture can be made from old photographs. The gates had a pediment on top and two green coloured mermaids are stuccoed above the arched gateway hence the name of '*Mermaid gate*' (Fig. 7.13, 7.14).

The *Mermaid gate* led to a garden called *Hazrat Bagh* or *chauk*, central square.[17] This garden supposedly had a large tree under which Wajid Ali Shah used to sit during '*Jogia mela*'. He would dress up in saffron clothes and enact out musical dance dramas like *Krishna Leela*, *Inder Sabha*, and *Raas Leela* with female attendants. Huzoor Bagh enclosed the Hazrat Bagh on the left by the Chaulakhi Kothi to the right. The *Chaulakhi Kothi* was made by Wajid Ali Shah's barber Azim-ullah Khan. While making the palace complex the Nawab confiscated

the building and made it a part of his palace. During the First War of Independence it was supposedly the residence of Begum Hazrat Mahal. The *Huzoor Bagh* was a large rectangular edifice comprising of two courts surrounded by double storied buildings.[18] It was the royal garden with the king's apartments on three sides and a *Baradari* in the centre, probably the *Chandiwali Baradari*. Facing the south for the winter sun was the *Shahenshan manzil*. The other two sides had *Makan-e-Khas* and *Falak Sair* occupied by the king during rainy and summer seasons. The British demolished all these buildings in 1858.

Moving straight ahead the visitor would pass through the *Lakhi gate* to the main walled garden, which is called Kaiserbagh today. A lakh of rupees were spent on making the *Lakhi gate*, thus the name (Fig. 7.15). It was known as the '*Paree Khana*' where the queens of the King lived. The quadrangle was an enclosed garden with the *Sufaid Baradari* in the centre, a small mosque, many small marble pavilions and kiosks, and a large tent like structure called *Lanka*. *Lanka* was demolished and in its place stands the Amin-ud-daula library. It was an elevated platform supported by eight pillars with water flowing through it. It is said that Wajid Ali Shah used it during the monsoons but its planning and use is unclear. Some people believe that it was not one building but collectively the Kaiserbagh palace complex was called *Lanka* due to its impregnable position (Fig. 7.16, 7.17, 7.18, 7.19, 7.20, 7.21, 7.22).

The residential quarters of the ladies, surrounding the main quadrangle, were houses with large courtyards and two storeys high. The residential quarters were later partitioned and allotted to the Rajas and Taluqdars of Awadh and are till date in their possession. Within the Kaiserbagh were two markets, *Meena Bazaar* and *Kaptan Bazaar*, exclusively for the use of the royal women.

The Kaiserbagh quadrangle was entered and exited through two identical gates known as *Lakhi gate*s (Fig. 7.15). One brings the visitor into the court from the *Hazrat Bagh* and the other takes one out of the complex towards *Kaiser Pasand*, which bounds the south west corner of the Kaiserbagh palace. It is also mentioned that near it was the palace of Maharaja Balkishen, the finance minister of Wajid Ali Shah.[19] This building was made by Roshan-ud-Daula, a minister of Nasir-ud-din Haider, but like *Chaulakhi kothi* was confiscated by Wajid Ali Shah when he made the palace complex and renamed it *Kaiser Pasand*. One of his favourite ladies, Mashuq Mahal, used to reside there. Interestingly the elevation of the *Lakhi gates* and *Kaiser Pasand* mirror the elevation of *Constantia*, built in 1800 by Claude Martin, which had two crossed arches imaging a dome as the pinnacle of the building.

Turning to the right one would pass through the *Sher Darwaza* to the Chattar Manzil complex. Between the Chattar Manzil palace and the Kaiserbagh court was another court, which housed the tombs of Nawab Saadat Ali Khan and his Begum Khurshidzadi. The tombs still

exist but are devoid of their original elaborate enclosures and gates. The graves of the family members of the Nawab are also housed within the tombs. Thus, the Kaiserbagh sprawled between the Chattar Manzil (CDRI) to the *Tarawali kothi* (SBI) in the north to the *Roshan-ud-Daula kothi* (UPSA) and *Chaulaki kothi* near the Kaiserbagh circle in the south. It was joined to the Chattar Manzil by a series of courtyards.

Although the palace was not fortified, it was not easily penetrable because it's concentric walled enclosures made it difficult for the enemy to ascertain its power centre. On the south side the palace was fortified by the dense city with narrow and labyrinthine streets. Therefore it is easy to understand why Kaiserbagh was called *Lanka*. During the First war of Independence it became the fort of the Nawabi army and put up a tough resistance. It had to be demolished enclosure by enclosure before it fell to the British. After the war, the British ordered the demolition of Kaiserbagh, as it was the stronghold of the Nawabs under the leadership of Begum Hazrat Mahal. She had assumed leadership after her husband, Nawab Wajid Ali Shah, was exiled in 1856. Most of the southern and northern walls of the complex, the independent structures within the Kaiserbagh court, the enclosures of the tombs, Chaulakhi, and the King's residential quarters were destroyed. After the war, wide streets were cut through the palace and today with heavy traffic plying through these streets; it is difficult to recreate the essence of the garden palace [20] (Fig. 7.11).

An important aspect of the palace complex was it's planning with intentional hierarchy of spaces. A visitor was made to move from one court to another and had access only up to a certain point as per his or her status. This was done to induce within the visitor a sense of awe for the royal court. In a way it was a showcase of the riches of the kings. The indirect and zigzag movement through the courts confused the visitors. The path felt longer and more complicated than it often was. This lack of clarity with guards posted at the numerous gates also helped maintain a strict security within the palace.

The second important aspect of the palace complex was a series of courtyards, both large and small, usually enclosed by walls of different heights. Within these walled enclosures, large independent structures were either set within the courtyards or along the walled enclosures to form an integral whole. No one building assumed undue prominence over another. One building was joined to another with the help of link ways and passageways making it difficult to ascertain where one structure started and another ended. Kaiserbagh also had big independent buildings like *Kaiser Pasand, Chaulakhi, Lanka,* the tombs, and *Sufaid Baradari* all enclosed by walled structures.

Also, although the palace complex accommodated a multitude of people and offices; it was not self-sufficient and did not have the kind of resources that would allow it to exist independently from their surrounding town. Kaiserbagh or the other palace complexes never

threatened the traditional functions of the town and city. On the contrary, because these complexes were not self sufficient, the outer periphery of the palace became thickly populated to provide luxuries and necessities to the royal court.

Of all the buildings of Lucknow, Kaiserbagh is the most complex. Macchi Bhawan fort was a palace designed for defence whereas the later palace-complexes, Daulat Khana and Chattar Manzil were not. Macchi Bhawan relied on Mughal precedents for its architecture whereas the other two relied on European principles, maybe with an Islamic bias. Macchi Bhawan had a courtyard planning with strict hierarchy of spaces like its predecessors. All the above palaces had the king's residential and official buildings, his zenana, and other subsidiary structures but also relied on the city for its other necessities. Unlike Macchi Bhawan, Daulat Khana and Chattar Manzil lacked a coherence of style and character. The architectural vocabulary of Machchi Bhawan palaces, as can be seen from photographs, relies heavily on Mughal precedents whereas those of Daulat Khana and Chattar Manzil rely on European Classical architecture. Paradise theme has been a common theme in all the palaces, especially in the layout of their gardens.

Kaiserbagh did not have fort walls, but defended itself by the complex movement patterns within it and the dense city surrounding it. Like Macchi Bhawan its planning was based on courtyards with a

coherent homogeneous character, paradise theme all pervasive, with residential and official quarters of the king, his zenana, etc. However, despite all these similarities with Macchi Bhawan and its predecessors, the vocabulary of its structures was distinctly European with pediments and classical columns, even if their internal planning was indigenous to suit their Nawabi life styles, as was the case with the later kothis. Although the complex was joined by link ways like the Mughal palaces, the architecture of the palaces was more like the later kothis designed like European villas and country houses than the colonnaded spaces of the seventeenth century Mughal palaces. In Kaiserbagh, the palaces had proper rooms with defined activities albeit with internal courtyards. Their facades were distinctly 'Classical'. Therefore, one can safely assume that Kaiserbagh complex presents a synthesis of the two styles, late Mughal and European that had co-existed for the last seventy-five years in Lucknow, sometimes playfully, sometimes forcefully.

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[1] Elizabeth B Moynihan, *Paradise as a Garden In Persia and Mughal India*.

[2] [2] Before Islam came to India it was concentrated in Arabia, Turkey and Persia. Sharar considers that the Arabs lent their language, Turks lent their intellectual and social etiquette, and Persians lent their poetic temperament to the formation of Islamic history. The Mughals and Nawabs were both influenced by the Persian culture. Whereas the Mughals, who came from Afghanistan, found the Persian culture suitable to their aristocratic tastes, the founder of the Nawabi rule, Nawab Burhan ul Mulk was from Nishapuri, Persia.

[3] From the Nawabi period, we have secure evidence of thirty-four gardens, which were commissioned. Of these, twenty-three were established in the 18th century, and 11 in the 19th. They were built by the Nawabs and their courtiers and noblemen.[3] Shuja-ud-daula made the largest number of gardens, eight in number, whereas Asaf-ud-Daula made four. Most of these were in Lucknow and Faisabad. These gardens were titled as 'bagh'.

[4] Kidwai, op. cit., pg. 94

Two Hazrat baghs and two Huzoor baghs have been mentioned, one within Kaiserbagh and one near Badshah bagh.

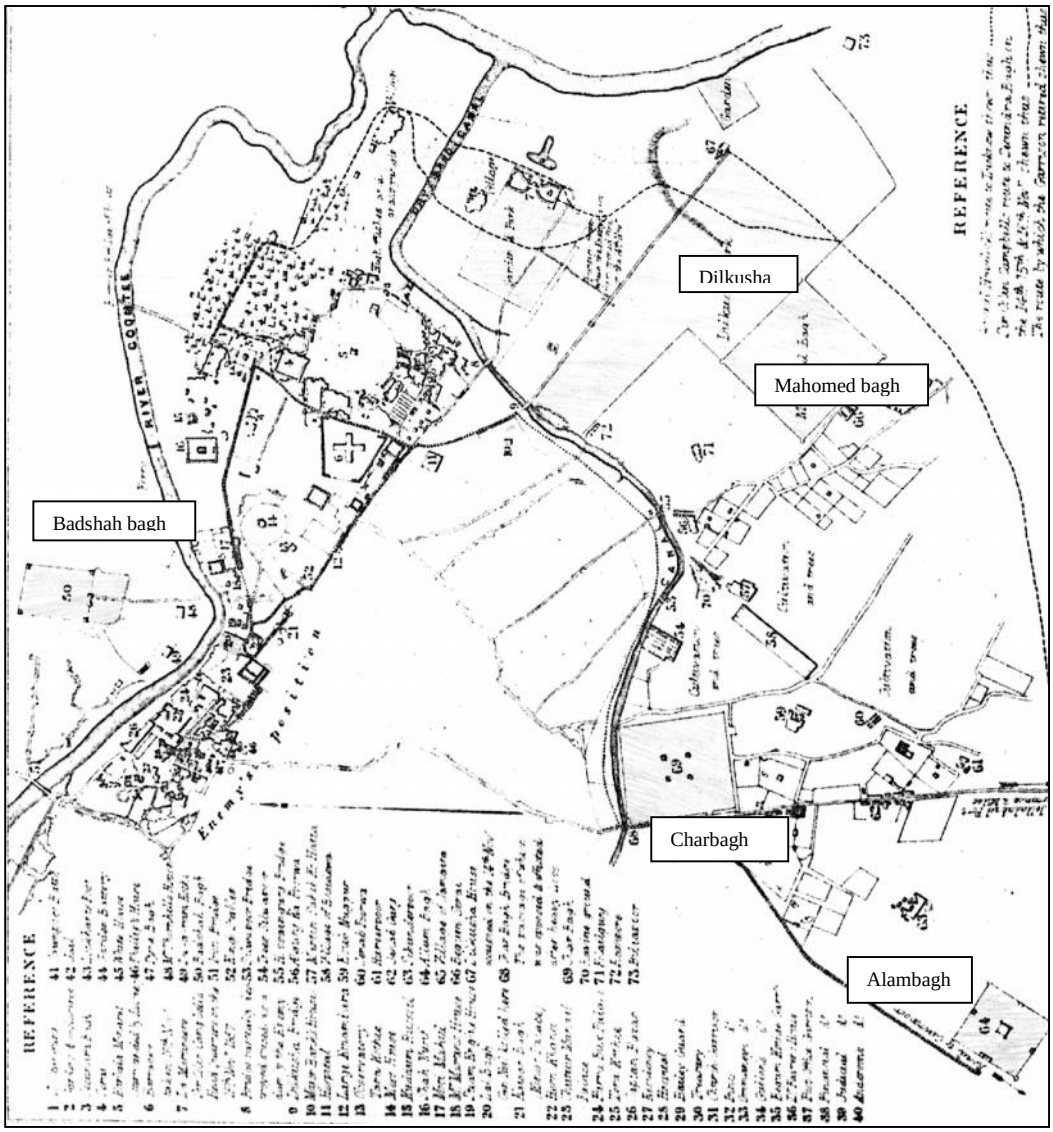
[5] Tandan, op. cit., pg. 119

[6] Chandgunj garden was probably located in the Chandganj locality near today as was Nishatganj etc.
[7] Knighton, op. cit., pg. 33, 98
[8] Kidwai, op. cit., pg. 93
[9] ibid. pg. 90
[10] ibid., pg. 90
[11] Tandan, op. cit., pg. 120
[12] ibid., pg. 121
[13] Kidwai, op. cit., 90
[14] Jones, op. cit., 189
[15] Sharar gives a vivid description of Kaiserbagh: "The inner court of the Oaiser Bagh, with it's lawns, was called Jilo Khana, the Front House. In the centre were a Barah Dari which is now Lucknow's Town Hall and some other buildings which are no longer standing. Outside the Qaisar Bagh were many nearby royal houses which made this plot of land one of the wonders of the age. These buildings were outside the eastern gate of the Qaisar Bagh. People on passing through this gate found fences on either side. They then came to Chini Bagh, the Chinese garden, and turning left they entered Jal Pari, the Mermaid gate. The Vazir Navab Ali Naqi Khan lived near the gate so as to be always near the King and within immediate call if necessary. On the other side of the Mermaid gate was Hazrat Bagh and inside it to the right was the Chandi Wali Barah Dari. This was an ordinary building of bricks and mortar but because there were sheets of thin silver on the roof (and walls and columns) it was known as The Silver House. The house next to it, Khas Maqam, the Residence, was a private residence in which the King himself lived and which was quite near to Badshah Manzil built by Navab Sadat Ali Khan.

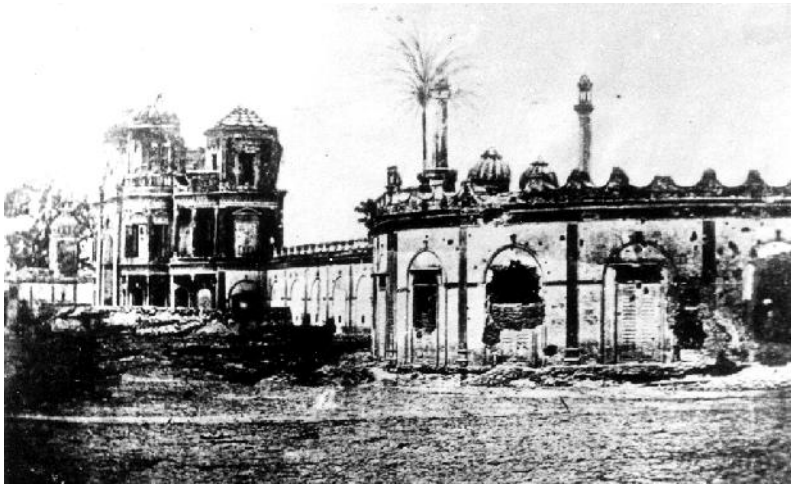
"At the end of the fences there was a complex of buildings known as Chaulakhi, 'Worth Four Lakhs', that were once owned by the royal barber, Azim Ullah. The King bought them from him for four lakhs of rupees and in them lived the King's chief wife Navab Khas Mahal and other honoured royal ladies. During the Mutiny Hazrat Mahal lived here….

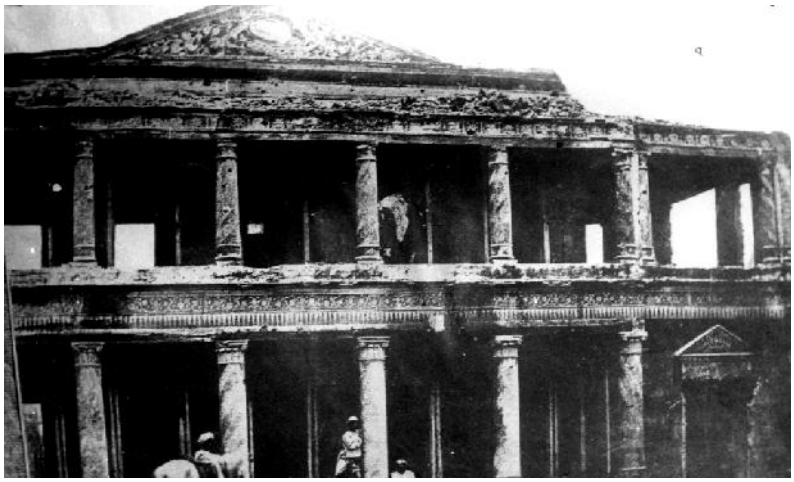
"Outside the western gate of the Qaisar Bagh was Roshan ud Daula's kothi. Wajid Ali Shah confiscated it and called it Qaisar Pasand, 'Favourite of Qaisar'. One of his favourite ladies, Navab Mashuq Mahal, used to live in it. Nowadays it is the Deputy Commissioner's court. Opposite to it on the western side of Qaisar Bagh was another Jilo Khana."(Sharar: 64)

[16] Tandan, op. cit., pg. 91
[17] *Chowk* word has been used with the main street of Chowk, the locality around this street and it can also be used as a market square or cross roads
[18] ibid., pg. 92
[19] ibid., pg. 91-92
[20] Jones, op. cit., pg. 195

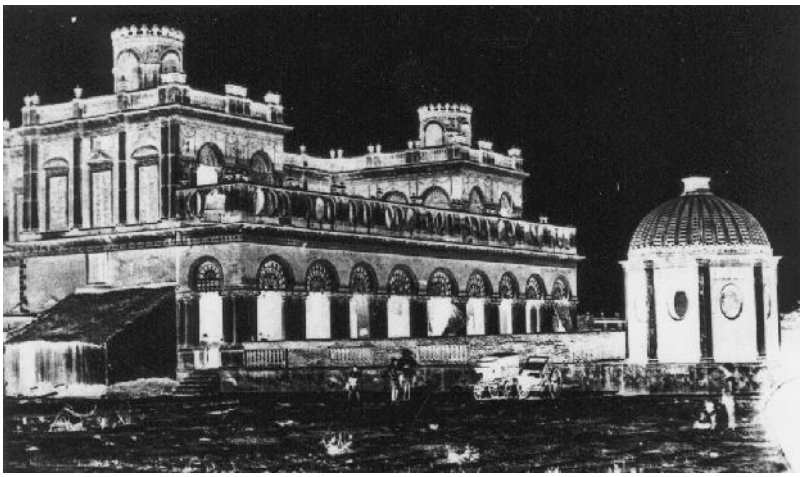


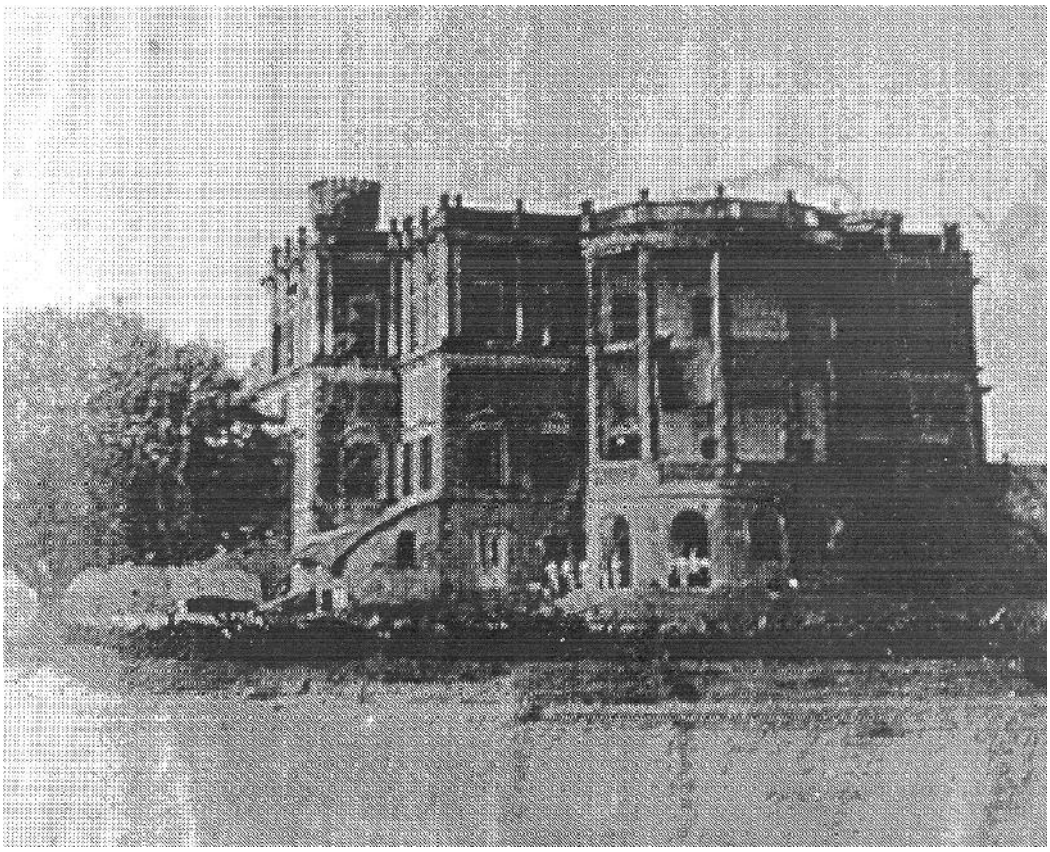
7.1 Old map showing various baghs in the city of Lucknow



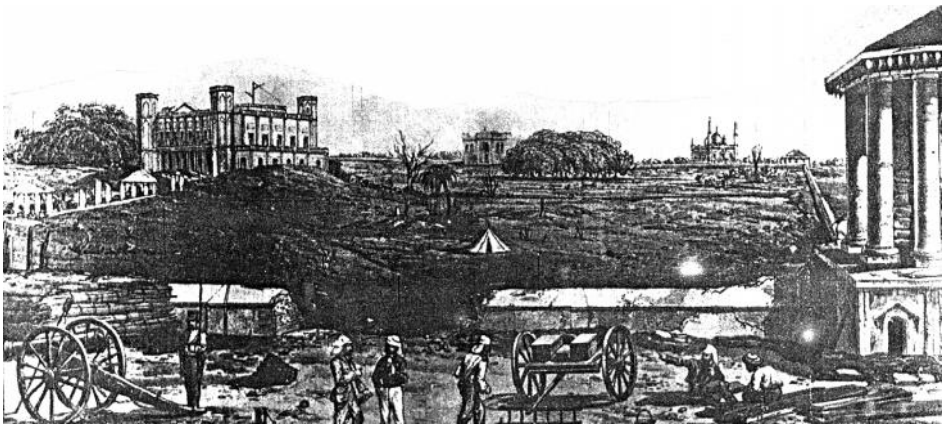


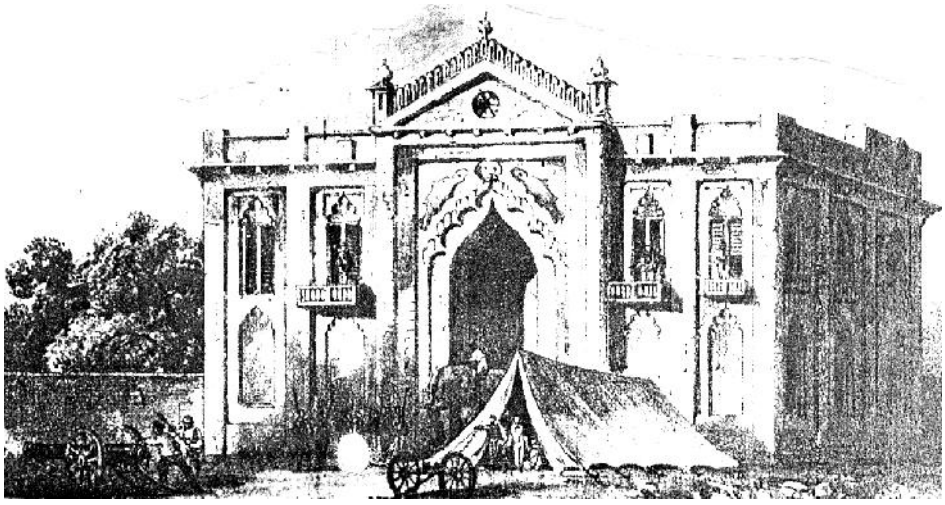
7.2 Sikandar Bagh
7.3 Inside view of Sikandar Bagh
7.4 Entrance gate of Sikandar Bagh



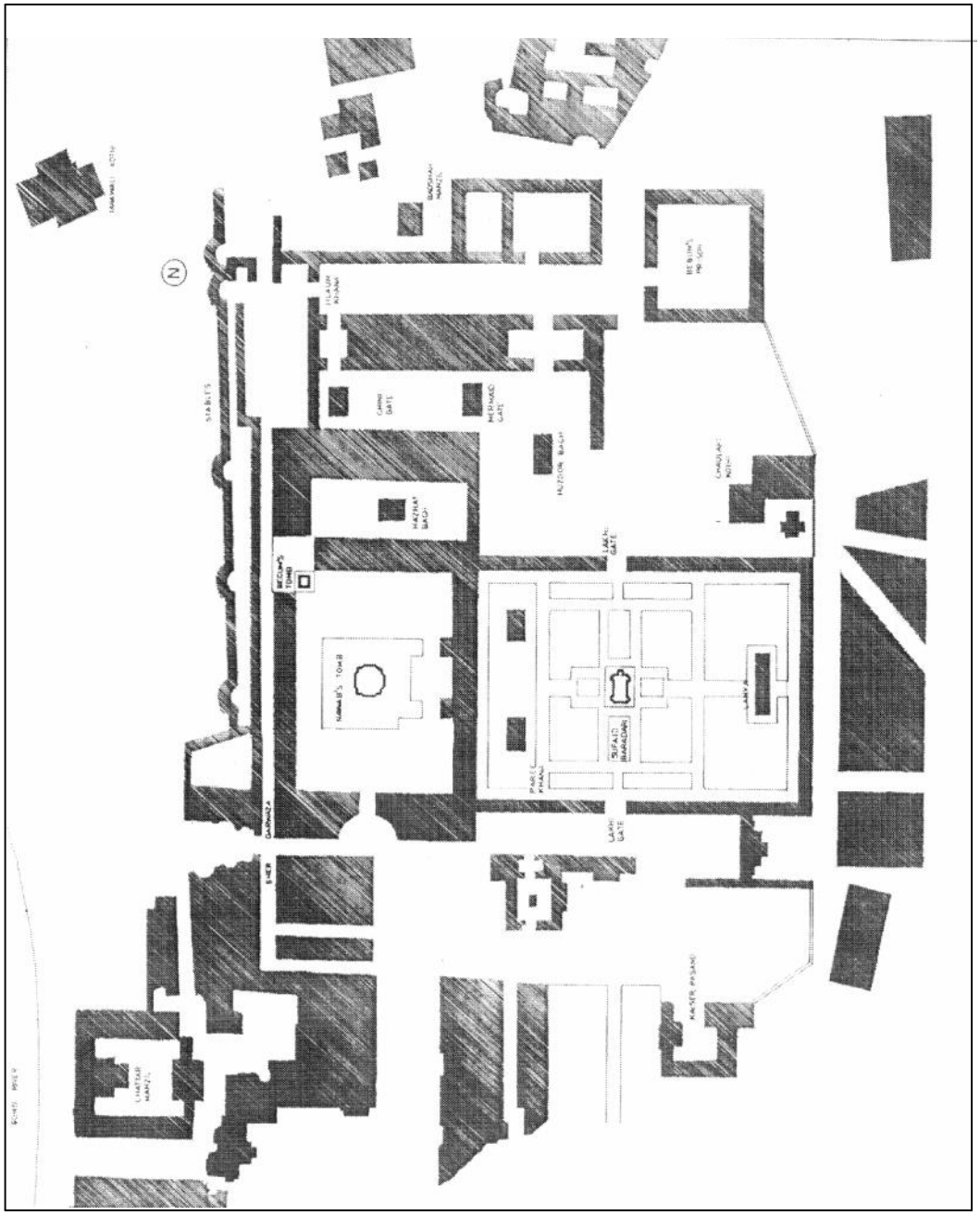


7.5 Musa Bagh
7.6 View of Musa Bagh from the river

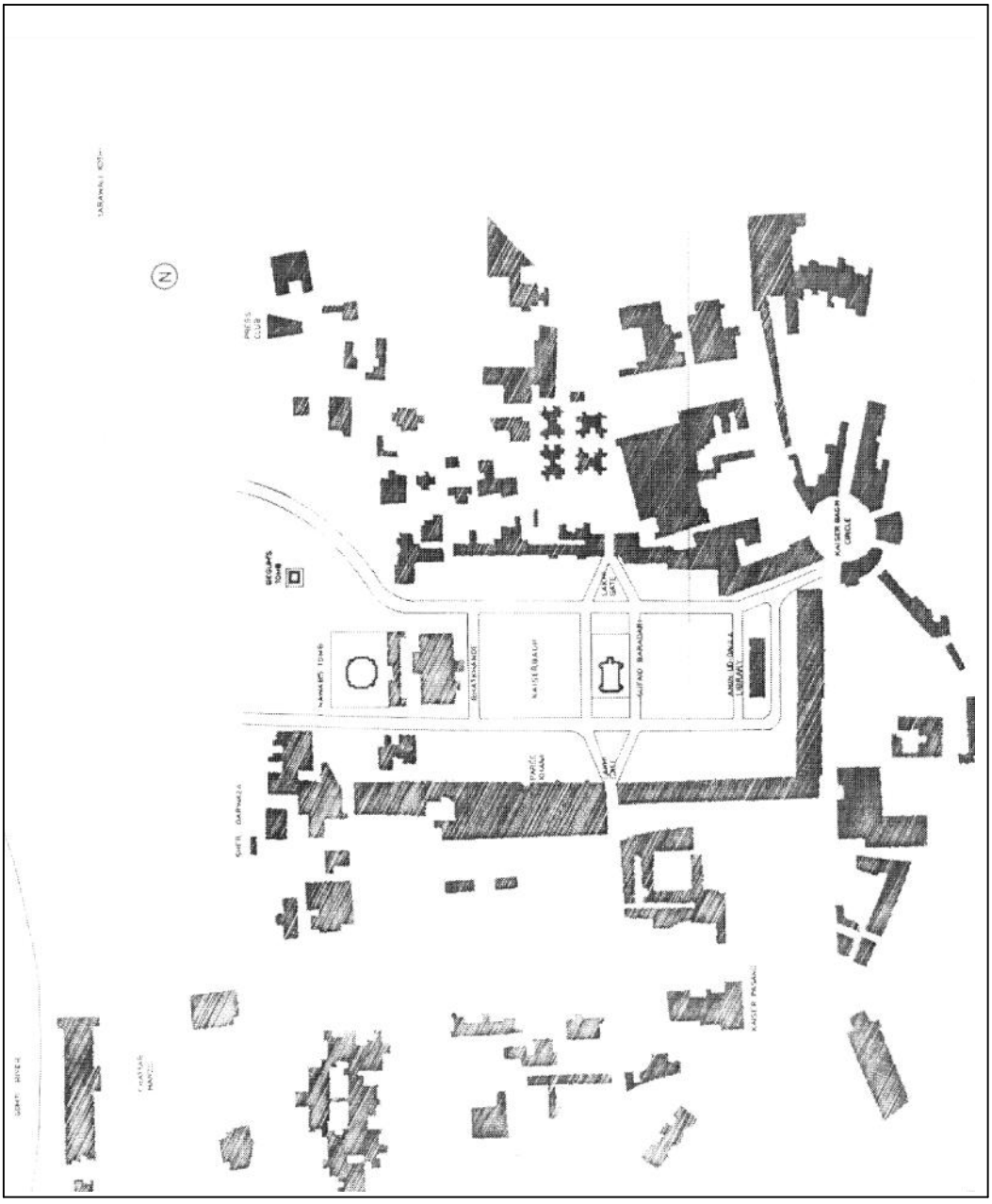




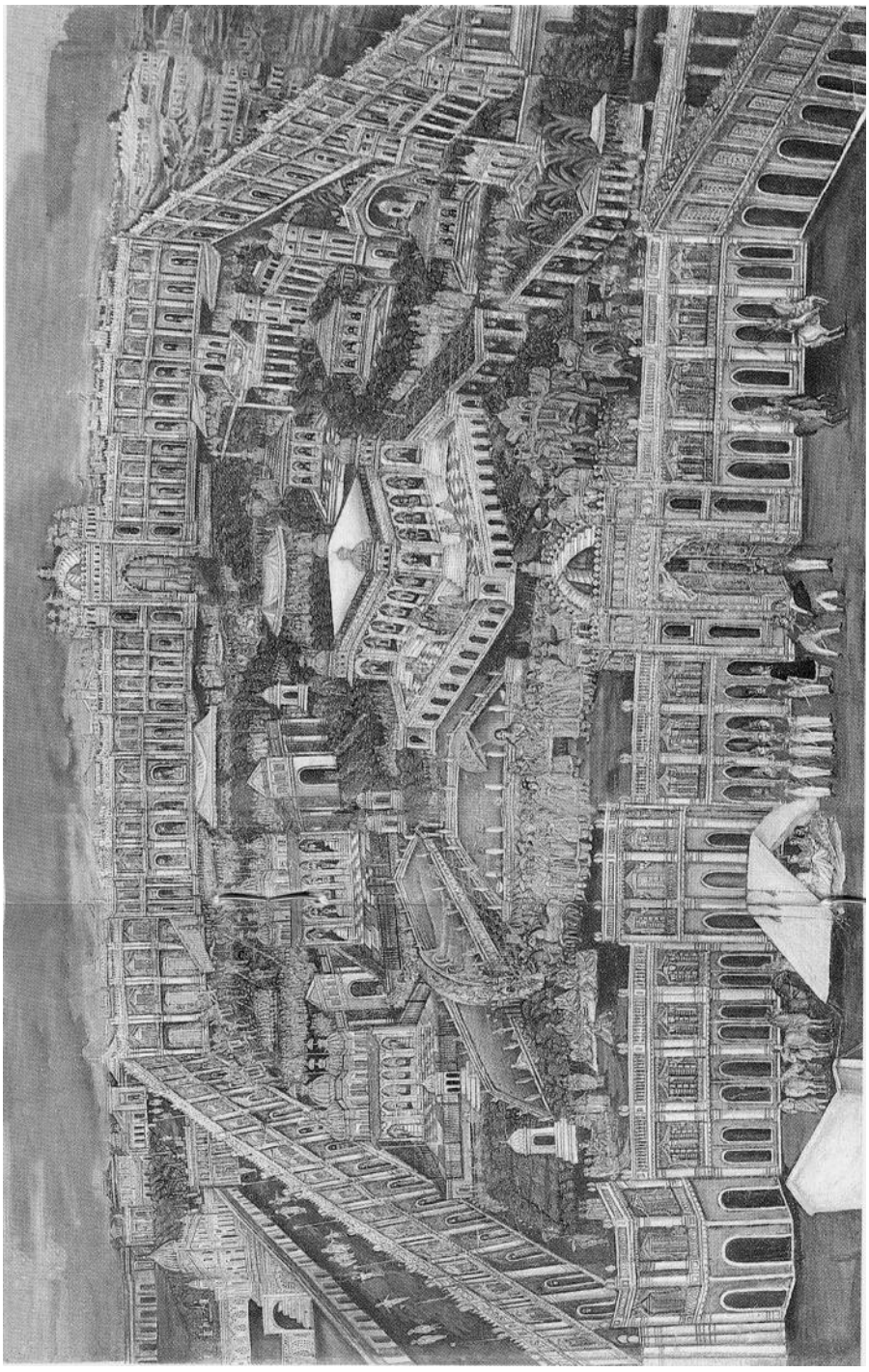
7.7, 7.8, 7.9 Alambagh complex, Entrance gate, Kothi



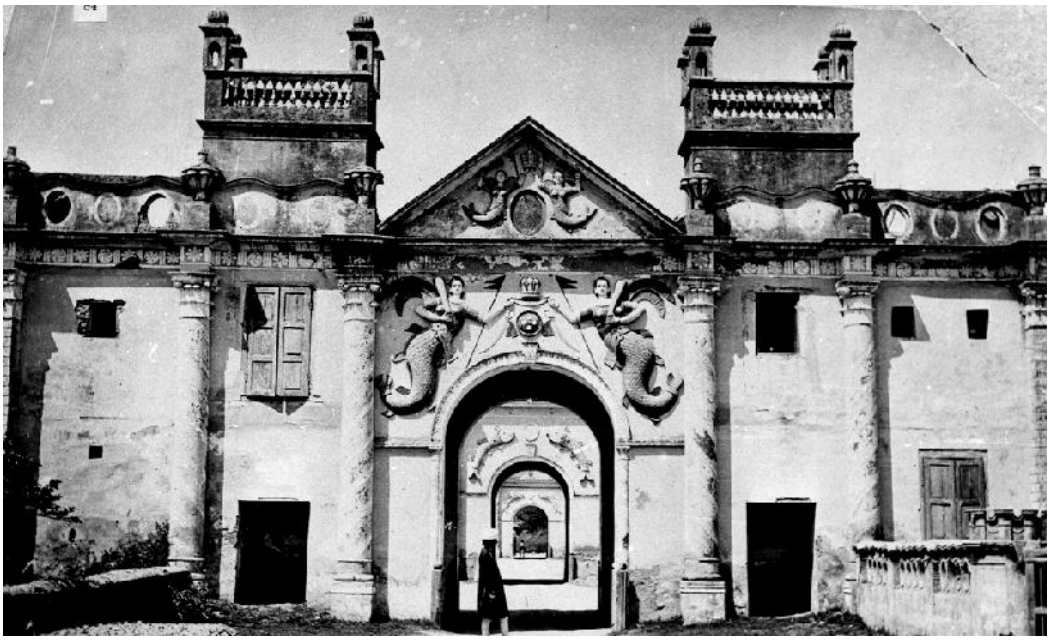
7.10 Reconstructed plan of Kaiserbagh palace complex

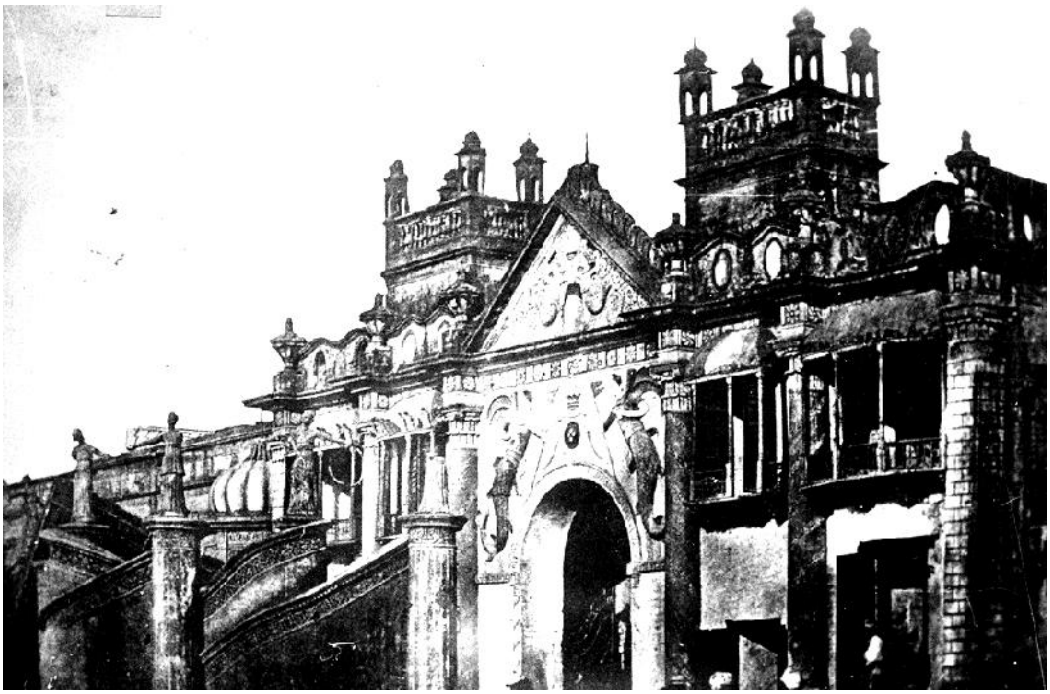


7.11 Kaiserbagh as it exists today

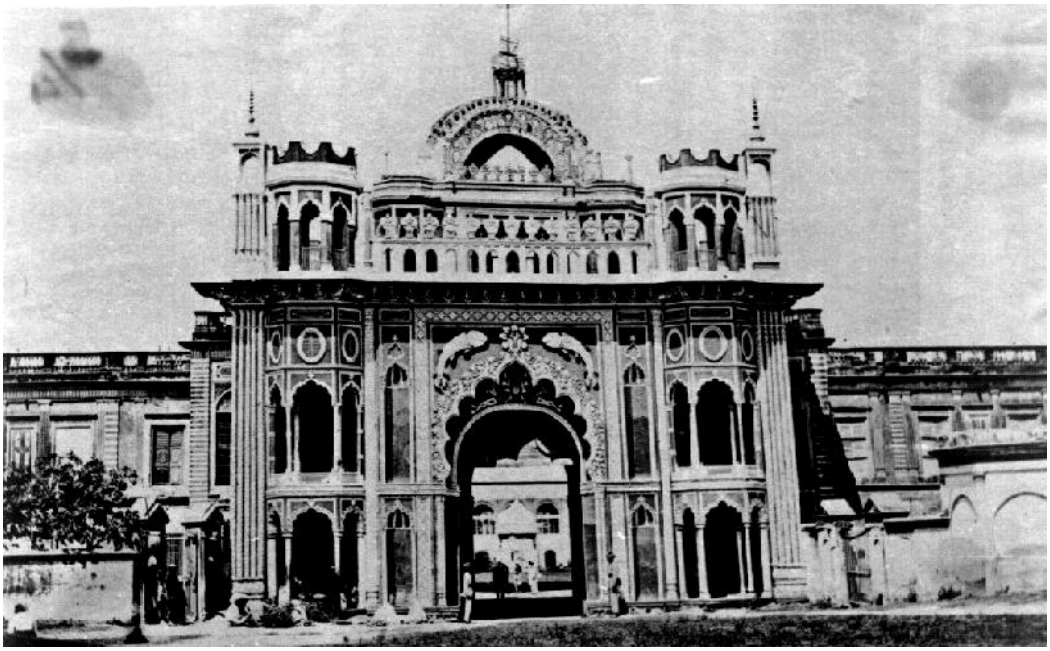


7.12 An old painting of Kaiserbagh complex, main quadrangle

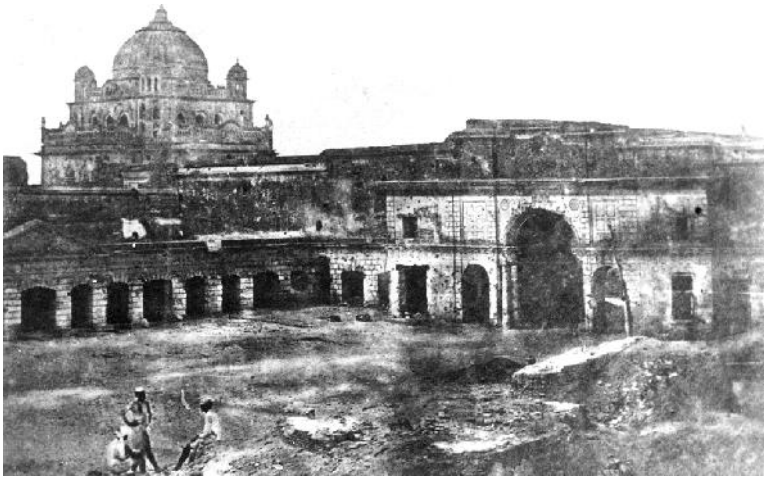


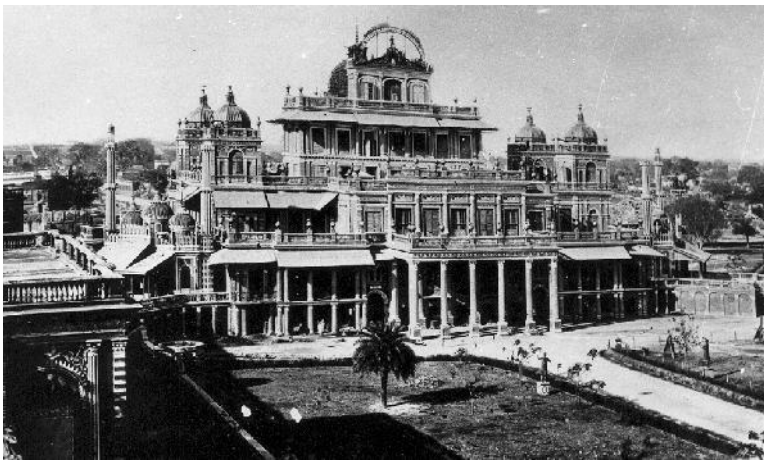


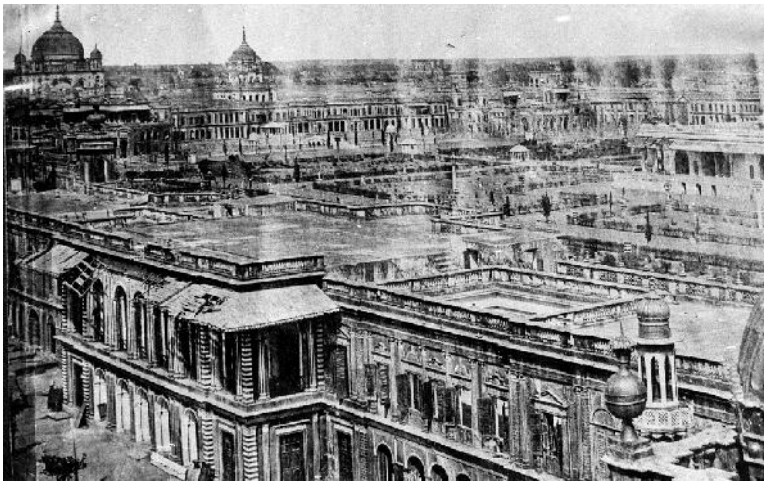
7.13 & 7.14 View of Mermaid gate from both sides



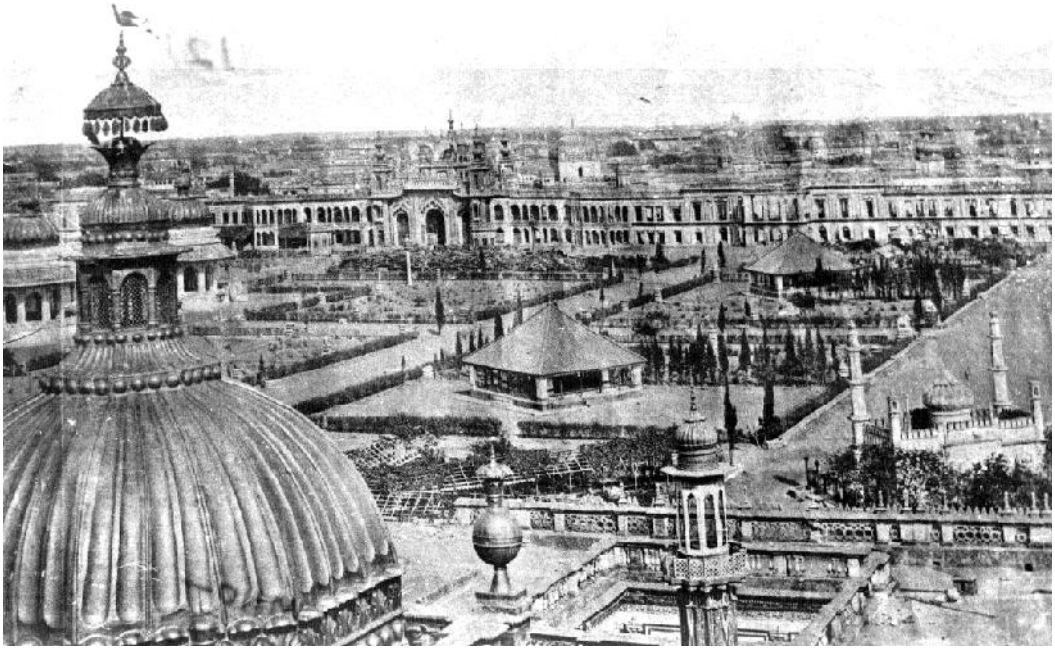
7.15 Lakhi Gate



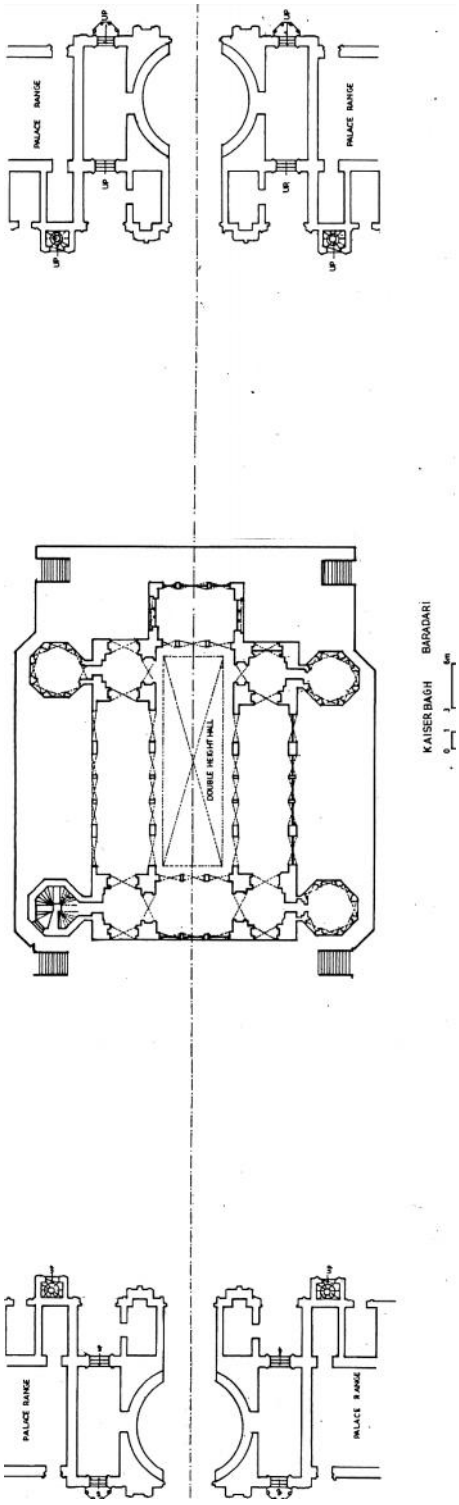




7.16 Sher Darwaza (Neils Gate)with the tomb in the background
7.17 Kaisar Pasand (Roshan-ud-daula kothi)
7.18 View of main quadrangle of Kaiserbagh



7.19 View of main quadrangle, Kaiserbagh
7.20 View of Sufaid Baradari



7.21 Plan of Sufaid baradari with the Lakhi gates at two ends

7.22 Views of *Lanka*, Kaiserbagh

War and the destruction of Nawabi Lucknow

With the annexation of Awadh on 13, February 1856, and Nawab Wajid Ali Shah exiled to Calcutta soon after, the Nawabi court passed in the hands of his son Prince Brijis Qadar with his wife Begum Hazrat Mahal as the guardian. She fortified Kaiserbagh and bravely fought the British from May 1857 to March 1858 when Kaiserbagh and Lucknow fell in the hands of the British. W.H. Russell's graphic description of the capture of Kaiserbagh shows that British soldiers ran amok, smashing doors and breaking into rooms in search of portable loot. The things that they could not carry like marble statues, furniture, heavy draperies and massive jade bowls, they smashed in a frenzy of destruction. However, it was not the loot, which damaged the palace as much as the British attitude to demolish the city of Lucknow.

The First war of Independence dramatically changed the British view of Lucknow: the long coveted Nawabi capital was now a ‘sinister’ and ‘dangerous’ city with all the characteristics ‘that made rebellion easy and defence impossible’. Eric Hobsbawm’s model for an ideal city for riot and insurrection incorporates the following:

> “Suppose, then, we construct the ideal city for riot and insurrection…It ought to be densely populated and not too large in area. Essentially it should still be possible to traverse it on foot…Its poor ought to be relatively homogeneous socially or

> radically…It ought to be centripetal, that is to say, its various parts ought to be naturally oriented towards the central institutions of the city, the more centralised the better."[1]

Hobsbawn goes on to say that in cities where palaces, town houses of great nobles, markets, places of worship, public squares, and slums are interspersed a riot could be organised fairly quickly. By these standards, Lucknow favoured the 'rebellion'. Therefore, it was logical and necessary for the British to modify the form of the city and make it less congenial for rioting.

After the war it had become clear to the British military that large palace complexes such as Kaiserbagh, mosques, and big kothis must be seized and demolished as they provided convenient shelter to the enemy Indian forces. A letter from the Secretary of the Chief Commission to the Commissioner of Oudh clearly stated that,

> " It is not by an indiscriminate massacre of the wretched sepoys that we should avenge our kindred. Had Delhi been levelled it would have been well. A stroke like that would have been a beacon and a warning to the whole of India, and a very heavy blow to the Mahomedan religion. It is now too late however. But the Chief Commissioner sees no reason why that fate should not befall Lucknow…At all events, only such buildings should be

> preserved as may be requisite for our own military or other purposes. No mosque- no temple should be preserved."

Another letter stated that,

> " As to Buildings in Lucknow, the only one that I think it might be well to level to the Ground is the 'Kaiser Baug' as that is the Palace where our chief enemies have resided during the rebellion."

In July 1859, the Secretary to the Chief Commisioner declared:

> It is necessary on military grounds to pull down the greater part of the Chuuter Manzil, and the Farhad Baksh palaces and eventually it may be necessary to open out the Kaiserbagh also.[2]

The death sentence was thus passed over Chattar Manzil, Kaiserbagh and other important palaces of Lucknow. The work of 'reshaping the unhealthy and indefensible city of Lucknow' was given to Colonel Robert Napier of the Bengal Engineers. He arrived with the relieving force in the capacity of Military Secretary in Chief, but was practically Chief Engineer and Chief of Staff. He was born in 1810 to a British army officer in Ceylon. He trained as an engineer at Addiscombe, worked for two years in Chatham, and landed in India in 1828. Later, while in England he observed at first hand the planning and execution

of public works in the new industrial towns. In 1838, he returned to India to engage in his first major attempt at urban development- the building of Darjeeling. He also designed a new cantonment in Ambala, and did various public works in Punjab.

Therefore, his knowledge of road building and environmental hygiene in military settlements made Napier the obvious choice to reshape Lucknow in 1858. He produced a document known as the 'Memorandum on the Military Occupation of the City of Lucknow,' dated 26 March 1858.[3] Therein he proposed to open broad streets through the city and to demolish any enclosures not required for military purposes (Fig. 8.1). The city of Lucknow, wrote Napier, in his master plan for civic defences, “from its vast extent, and from the absence of any prominent features of the ground on which it stands, must always remain difficult to control except by a large body of troops.” This difficulty was overcome by establishing several military posts and clearing for permanent access all construction and habitation around these posts and along their lines of communication with the countryside. He used his perfected method of opening broad streets through the city and practicable roads through the suburbs. The Nawabi Macchi Bhawan fort, which had a commanding view of the two bridges and the dense city, would be converted into the principal post of the city. He also proposed to clear out a six hundred yard wide esplanade

in the most heavily populated and built up area of the city around the Macchi Bhawan and to drive roads radiating from it through the city. [4]

He further proposed that every building and garden enclosure not required for military purposes existing between the Martiniere and the Gomti should be razed to the ground. He justified the destruction of two fifths of the city by implying that the "dangerous overcrowding" inside the old city would be automatically reduced with these demolitions. The construction of boulevards undertaken as remedy in European capitals threatened in 1848 and Haussmann who rebuilt Parisian main streets inspired this decision.

Napier's memorandum encapsulated his vision of a safe city, and it took two decades and vast sums of revenue to realise. His plan, with only minor changes in the routes of certain roads was fully implemented. Anything that came in the path of the proposed road was demolished.

The new roads were qualitatively and functionally different from the streets, lanes, and galis that the people of Lucknow were used to. "The winding street is gone," reminisced a veteran of Lucknow, "and a broad thoroughfare takes its place." Another feature of the old city that proved fatal to British forces was the innumerable cul-de-sacs in which the meandering streets would end. The concept behind the new streets, therefore, was not only to widen them for quicker troop movement from the British cantonment at Cawnpore, but also to build them from

one end of the city to the other so that there would be an uncircuitous exit from the maze of the old city. The cul-de-sacs were structurally very important to keep a mohalla compact and private, to control and limit traffic, and to preserve the community spirit and integration. The new streets cut through several mohallas, destroying their organic unity and organization.[5]

The direction and dimensions of the military roads were conspicuously unsuited to both the proportions of the mohallas and the river oriented logic of the city. The older main streets ran in an east west direction, from the dense city in the west to the low lying flood prone east side where as the new streets had a north south orientation. Victoria Street, today called Tulsidas marg, one example of a military road, emanated from the Macchi Bhawan fort and cut through the old city, dissecting mohallas and ending at a bridge on the Ghasiuddin Haider Canal at the southern edge of the city.[6] The other streets criss-crossed through the dense old city destroying whatever they crossed.

While some *mohallas* tended to wither away, new and uniform rows of shops were built along the edges of the new arteries in an attempt to check the decay of the old city. The small bazaars, built around twisting and often blind alleys shaded by the height of the buildings on both sides of which people worked and lived, bought and sold, prayed and played, were dislocated in the execution of the grandiose and tidy schemes of a generation of military town planners.

It was not until 1916 that their work was appraised and indicted by Patrick Geddes. After an intensive first hand study he officially reported the new arteries to be ‘monotonous’, ‘fatiguing’ to traverse and quite as ‘unbeautiful as they are destructive and costly.’

The Machchi Bhawan fort was blown up; the Imambaras and Jama Masjid were taken over by the British. Another result of Napier’s report was that the Kaiserbagh was slowly demolished and had wide streets passing through its main courtyards. The whole of the southern wall was demolished together with the *Chaulakhi Kothi*. Gradually the freestanding buildings inside the Kaiserbagh were demolished. Slowly the northern walls of the Kaiserbagh also vanished. In 1856 they destroyed the *Khas* Bazaar, that ran down the side of Kaiserbagh. Some enclosures became weak and collapsed because of structural instability. The passageways between Kaiserbagh and Chattar Manzil disappeared with the exception of *Sher Darwaza*. This gate had an emotive significance for the British because one of the relieving officers, died under the gate and it was renamed Neil's gate after him. The tombs were stripped off their enclosures and they stood starkly by themselves (Fig. 8.2, 8.3). *Kaiser Pasand* was denuded of its two upper storeys. A road dissected the Chattar Manzil palace.

No other building of Lucknow was as glorious as Kaiserbagh and none other was mutilated as badly. Today it requires great effort and imagination to recreate the vision of the palace complex as only a few

structures of the Kaiserbagh palace remain. The important among these are the *Sufaid Baradari*, some parts of the *Paree Khana*, the two *Lakhi gate*s, *Sher Darwaza* and the two tombs. The two tombs are protected monuments and well looked after by the Archaeological Survey of India. The *Baradari* is used as a community hall and the *Lakhi gate*s are in a dilapidated condition whereas the *Sher Darwaza* looks much diminished in size as most of it's plinth has been covered with silt. The *Paree Khana* has been modified beyond recognition and is used by the Taluqadars. The presence of thin *Lakhori* bricks in these structures confirms their association with the palace complex. Two new buildings, the Amin-ud-Daula library and the Bhatkhande College of Music, are a part of the main Kaiserbagh quadrangle. As the whole, with the streets piercing through the main quadrangle, and heavy traffic plying through them, the essence of the garden palace is difficult to recreate.

Macchi Bhawan was destroyed, the ‘old’ city was mutilated, Kaiserbagh was cut open, and much of Nawabi Lucknow slowly disappeared. Surprisingly what was not destroyed was the Hazratganj street with all its magnificent kothis probably because, made in the European vocabulary, they did not pose a threat to the paranoid British. (Kankarwali kothi and Begum kothi were demolished in the twentieth century). On the contrary it was developed and became a major market

for the British. Most of the kothis still exist and are in government or private use.

[1] Oldenburg, op. cit., pg. 27
[2] Jones, op. cit., pg. 194
[3] Oldenburg, op. cit., pg. 30
[4] ibid, pg. 31
[5] ibid, pg. 39
[6] ibid, pg. 41

Reconstruction

Once the ‘revolting’ Indians were subdued, by the British forces, and with the dissolution of the East India Company, India came under the British crown in 1858. To avert further challenge, the British undertook a more thorough and systematic governance which was hitherto lacking under the East India Company. Roads were driven through the hearts of old bazaars, military cantonments and civil stations were made.

In 1865, Col. Crommelin, was deputed to look for a suitable site for the railway station and the cantonment. The Charbagh garden, in the south west of the city, was found to be suitable. It was the only railway station to be designed as a military post and included a fort, arsenals, barracks, and extra accommodation for the evacuation of Christians, if needed. The cantonment came up in the Dilkusha gardens. The civil lines, where the officers and other Europeans stayed, came up around these areas as police lines, railway lines, post and telegraph lines, etc. They were called ‘lines’ being a long row of housing arranged in a cluster. The Hazratganj became the central market area for these foreigners and boasted of several shops selling merchandise from Calcutta.[vii]

The British largely built two types of buildings: residential and civic structures like railways, schools, colleges, hospital, courts, administrative buildings, hospitals, etc. Civil and amateur military engineers, who came with the British army made these structures to start with. Whereas the structural component of these buildings was ably handled by the engineers, the architectural vocabulary of these structures generated

great interest and debate among builders. The reason, these buildings had no precedents in India and thus had to be conceptualised from the basics.

The architectural style of this period can be summarised from the talks given by engineer-architects practising in India in 1873 while speaking before the Society of Arts in England. According to T. Roger Smith: "As our administration exhibits European justice, order, law, energy, and honour, our buildings too ought to hold up a high standard of European art. They ought to be European both as a rallying point of ourselves and as raising a distinctive symbol of our presence to be beheld with respect and even admiration by the natives of the country." This view was countered by William Emerson who said that the British should not carry into India a new style of architecture but rather should follow the examples of the Muslims who "seized upon the art indigenous to the countries conquered, adapting to suit their own needs and ideas." It was further stated that buildings to be used by 'natives' should have a 'native' architecture style whereas buildings to be used by Europeans were more appropriate in European style.[viii]

Thus one can see that the major intention of architecture built during 1858 and till Independence had a strong political agenda. This had not been the case before 1858 when the British, who came as traders with the East India Company, essentially built out of need, structures which were suitable for their style of living like residences and churches. The style of these buildings was romantic and 'picturesque' which was an outcome of experimentation with 'novelty' and expressions of 'nostalgic memories'. Therefore, one can see a very eclectic mix of Indian and European styles portrayed in the early 19th century. By the late 19th century, the British made a

careful study of India, which included art and architecture. The studies were published as useful reference guides like the *Jeypore Portfolio of Architectural Details* which gave extensive measure drawings of Indian buildings. They could be used as and when needed by British architects and engineers. Thus, 'style' was a choice and it was utilised depending on the appropriateness of the image that was to be presented to the onlooker.[ix]

This style was termed as 'Indo-Saracenic' by the British rulers; *Indo* for Hindu, and *Saracenic* for Islamic. Coined by Major Mant in the 1870s, the central conception of this style was always a combination of 'European Science' and 'native art', of 'traditional forms' and 'modern use'. So even as the face of the buildings was camouflaged in an Indian garb, the planning of all civic structures remain unmistakably British. These new buildings also made them more 'Indian' and thus more acceptable to the 'natives'. Subsequently this style came to be known as 'Colonial' by Indian historians and scholars.[x]

Many buildings in Lucknow were made in this style especially between 1900 - 1931, which included at least four churches, the Hussainabad Clock Tower, the School of Design, Small Causes Court, the King George's Medical College, the Hardinge Bridge, the Canning College, the Isabella Thoborne College, the Victoria Memorial, the Charbagh Station, the Arabic School, the Amir-ud-daula library, the Council Chambers and Secretariat, and the the Post and Telegraph Office. The primary architects were Samuel Jacob, James Ransome, Henry Lanchester, J. Begg, and Richard Roskell Bayne (see list for details). In the last few decades of the 19th cen-

tury upto 1880s, some Churches were designed and built by rural and military engineers before the consulting architects took over. With the introduction of these Indo-Saracenic buildings, the architecture of Lucknow soon lost it's unique flavour and merged with the national trends of modernism and globalization.

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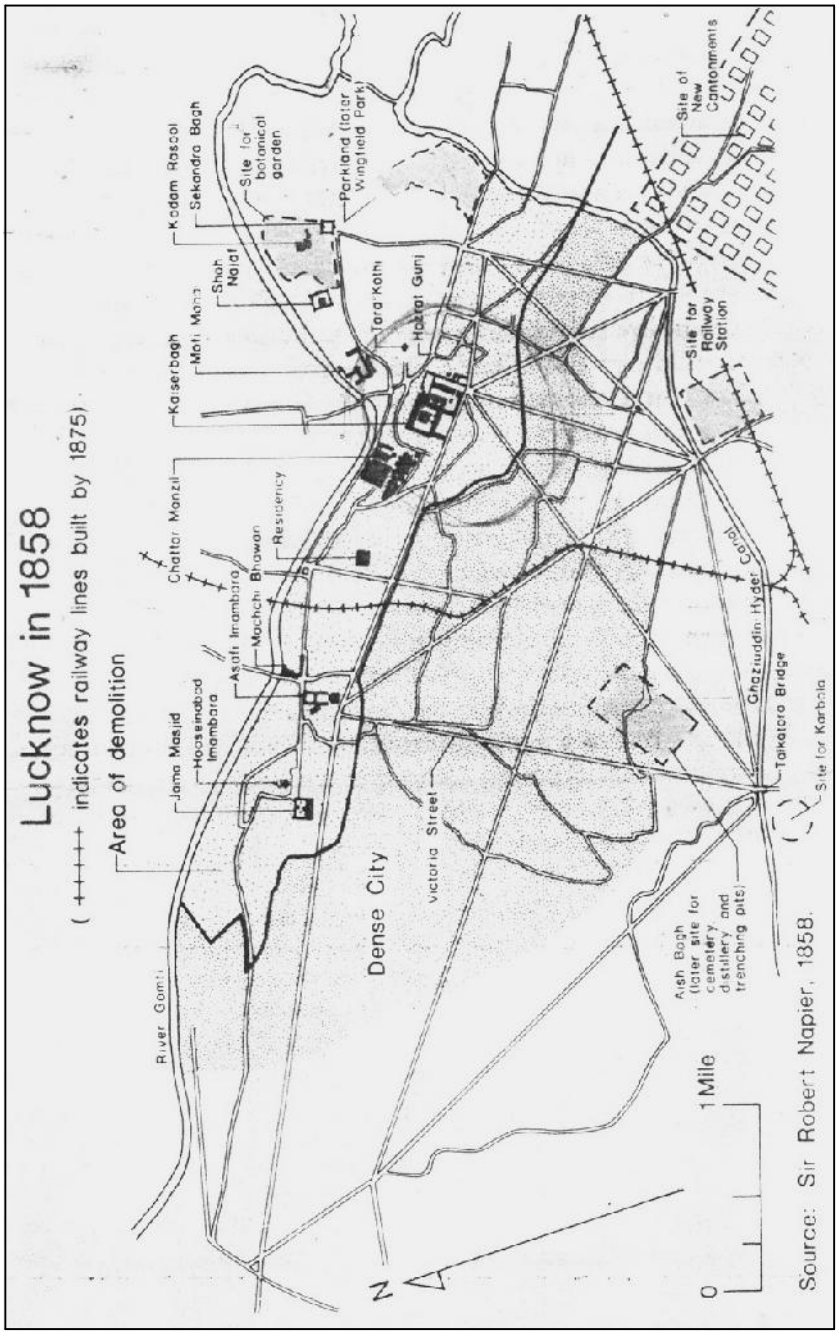
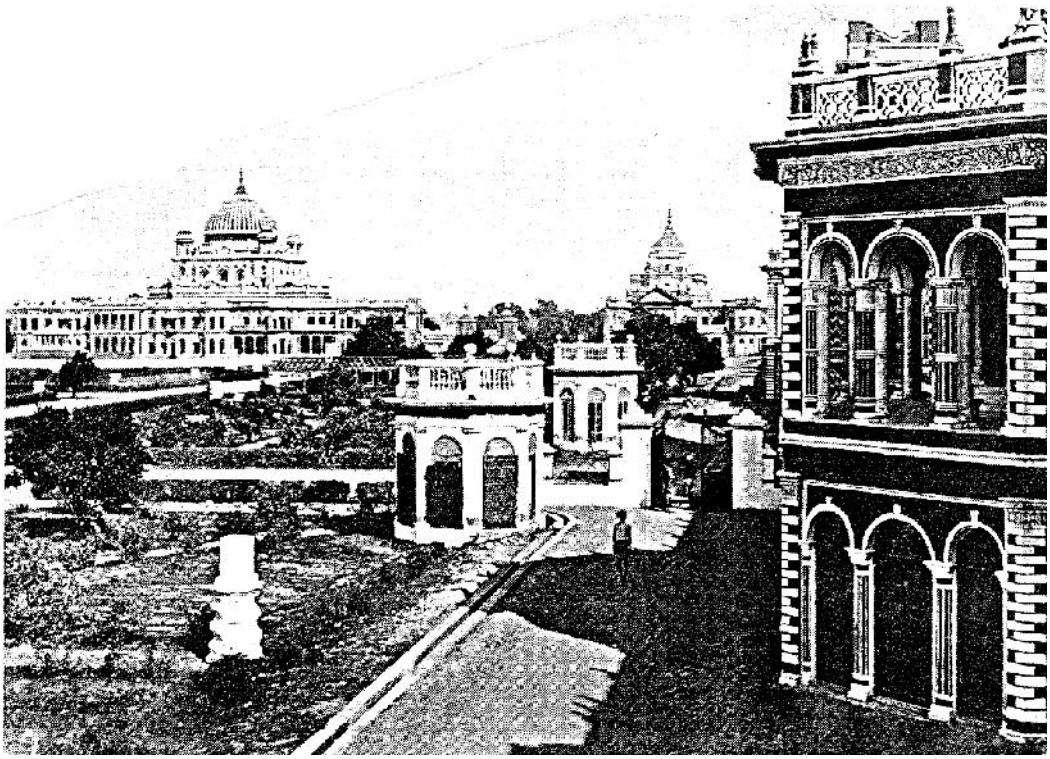
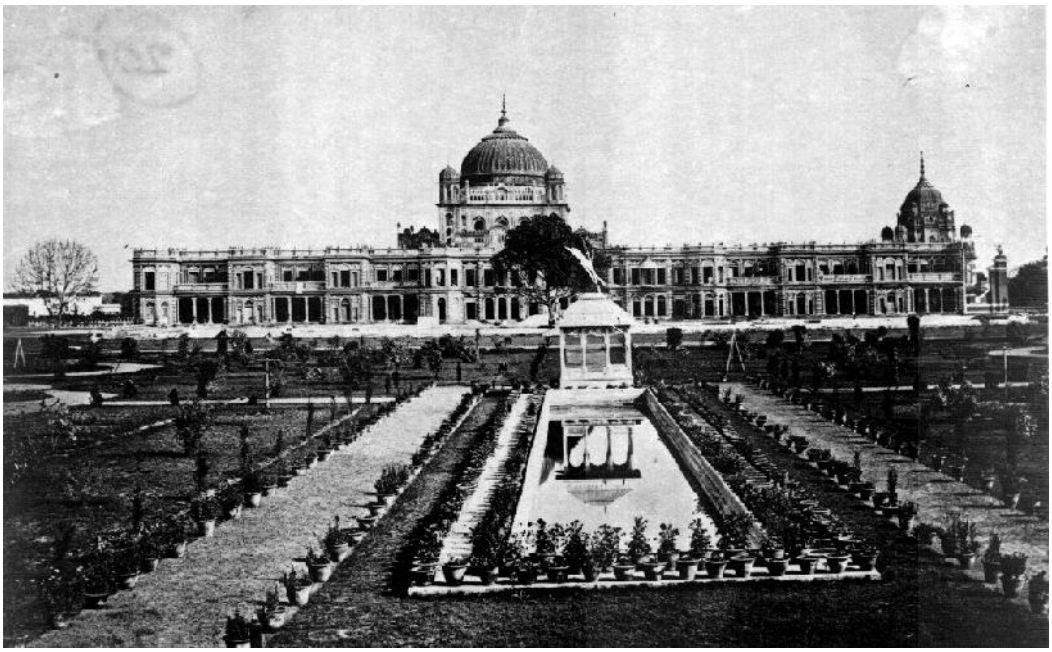
[i] Oldenburg, op. cit., pg. 27
[ii] Jones, op. cit., pg. 194
[iii] Oldenburg, op. cit., pg. 30
[iv] ibid, pg. 31
[v] ibid, pg. 39
[vi] ibid, pg. 41
[vii] Oldenburg, pg. 42-57
[viii] Das Neeta, Acrobatics of Style, pg. 36
[ix] ibid. pg. 36
[x] ibid. pg. 37.



8.1 Plan by Sir Robert Napier showing the areas of demolition and layout of the new roads





8.2 View of tombs before demolition
8.3 View of tombs after demolition of Kaiserbagh in 1858

Summary

Historical Background

Lucknow like most riverine cities of the north Indian plain, has a traceable Hindu origins couched in myth and fable. Its founder was said to be *Lakshman,* the brother of Lord *Rama* of Ayodhya, and named *Lakshmanpur* after him. Lucknow is located on the south bank of *Gomti*, a tributary of *Ganga*. The town's most prominent landmark was a hillock called *Lakshman Tila*. Upon this rise once stood a cave shrine that had been associated since with the worship of god *Vishnu*. The earliest settlement was a colony of *Brahmins* and *kayasths* located around this shrine. Over the centuries, waves of Rajput invaders and a steady flow of immigrants from the countryside made Lucknow a sizable township and a large center for trade in grain.

Lucknow was an important settlement through *Maurya* and *Gupta* periods. Colonization of Lucknow started with the advent of the Muslim settlers. Lucknow was the part of the *Iqta* (military and administrative unit of the Sultans) of Awadh from the earliest days of the Muslim rule and served as an important city even for the Mughals. By the 16th century, the Mughal Empire was divided into twelve provinces; each administered by an appointed governor. The political importance of Lucknow was understood by the fact that when Emperor Akbar reorganized his vast empire Lucknow was chosen to be the seat

of the governor of the key province (*suba*) of Awadh (Avadh, Awadh or Oudh, as it was later called by the British) in 1590 A.D. During this time, one Sheikh Abdur Rahim of Bijnaur went to the imperial court and became an official for the Mughal emperor and was also granted a *jagir* in Lucknow. In 1723, the Mughal Emperor Muhammad Shah, granted the governorship of Awadh to Burhan-ul-Mulk Amin ud din Khan Nishapuri (1732-1739 A.D.), better known as Nawab Saadat Khan.

Nawab Saadat Khan, a Persian nobleman, came to India from Nishapur in 1707 during the reign of Aurangzeb (1658-1707 A.D.). He came from a Shia family in Persia whose fortunes had declined and thus decided to try his fortunes at the Mughal court in Delhi. By 1719 he was a *faujdar* (superintendent) of a district in Agra. He was very efficient and very soon, by defeating the Shaikhzadas of Lucknow, the rulers of Lucknow at the time, became the *Subedar* (governor) of Awadh. The decline of the Mughal strength after Aurangzeb contributed to the formation of feudal states by governors who were appointed by them to administer these territories. Thus, Nizam-ul-Mulk formed Hyderabad in 1726, Ali Verdi Khan became independent in Bengal in 1740, and Peshwa Baji Rao I consolidated his state in 1740. Similarly, Burhan-ul-Mulk became the defacto ruler of Awadh in 1732.

'Old' city

When Nawab Saadat Khan came to Lucknow in 1723 it was like any other medieval town i.e. accretive, concentric, and aggregarian. Like most other towns it was situated next to a river, in this case, Gomti. The town had an old fortified palace, the Macchi Bhawan, located alongside the river and near the highest mound named Lakshman Tila. To the southwest on the periphery of the fort was *Chowk,* the main trade route and market place of Lucknow. Around it on both sides was the residential area now referred to as 'old' Lucknow.

Macchi Bhawan was the residence of Sheikh Abdur Rahim, the ruler of Lucknow before Saadat Khan, who built it in 1590 and was originally called Panch Mahal. When Saadat Khan came to power he rented it and greatly improved it. After him all earlier Nawabs, Safdar Jung, Shuja-ud-Daula, and Asaf-ud-Daula took great interest in the old fort and improved upon it. Pre-1857 maps show it to be quite a large fort. The fact that the British Commander during 1857, Sir Henry Lawrence, proceeded to dynamite the entire structure for fear that it might become an impregnable stronghold for the Indian rebels, shows that the site and its subsequent development were entirely apt for defence. Like all other Indian forts, built by the Hindu and Muslim rulers, it was located on a high strategic point, controlling all major land and water routes with strong bastioned walls. It had the official and residential quarters of the king, the *zenana* for his queens,

religious buildings, and subsidiary structures needed for such a complex. A *baoli* or step well, again similar to the forts of the sixteenth century, was the main source of water for the fort. The city below provided the other supplies and services for the fort-palace. Due to lack of information it is difficult to comment on the planning and architectural character of its buildings. We have information that all buildings were placed around six courts but it is still unclear whether the complex was based on any grid as was prevalent after the rule of Shahjehan or had the informal clustering of courtyards of the Sultanate period. However, it was the only fort of Lucknow that was built for defence.

Below the the Macchi Bhawan fort to the west of it, the ‘old’ city of Lucknow grew around *chowk*, the main trade route of the city. Various *abadis* or settlements were established at different times according to the needs of the people and the whims of the rulers and nobles. After Asaf-ud-Daula shifted his capital from Faisabad to Lucknow the city continued to grow under the later Nawabs and by the First War of Independence in 1857, the ‘old’ city extended from the Chowk street right up to Charbagh. This city is very dense and much later when the British were trying to prepare a map of Lucknow; the ‘old’ city remained uncharted barring a few thoroughfares, and was labelled ‘dense’. Like other pre-industrial cities, the residential part of ‘old’ Lucknow displays a morphology in which commerce, residential

living, and socio-religious institutions are intermixed and grew by accretion. The rulers of Lucknow being Muslims since the sixteenth century, ‘old’ Lucknow, in its dominant form and culture, was essentially Islamic with a dense and labyrinthine urban fabric in which are embedded courtyard houses as the basic domestic form. The residential area around *chowk* was divided into areas occupied by people of different communities, castes, or guilds.

The residential streets were radially arranged from the fort with secondary lateral streets connecting them. These streets or *galis* were narrow, irregular, and labyrinthine in character with blind curves and cul-de-sacs as a safety devise to confuse the enemies. The lace like and cellular form of the streets evolved in a cohesive pattern, flowing into each other, and the width of the roads varying with function, location, and importance. Streets served principally as areas where people mingled, and socialised, where hawkers lined the curbs, where goods and services were bought and sold, and where traffic, which chiefly comprised pedestrians or beasts of burden, was slow moving and yielded to those standing and transacting business. In ‘old’ Lucknow the custom was, and is, often to go to the street and not to get anywhere; the street itself was a destination and an event. Whereas the street of *chowk* was the main spinal market cutting across the city, the speciality markets or *bazaars* were scattered among the winding *galis* or streets of the residential areas.

Although Nawabi Lucknow could be described as ‘dense’, the city was never enclosed as an entity and the dense, narrow, and meandering streets offered safety to the city. There is no evidence, either historical or archaeological, that Lucknow had external walls as many pre-industrial cities in Europe and Asia did. In the ‘old’ city, dwellings were and still are organised as connected rows along these streets, both for the conservation and protection from heat, and to restrict the area of the city. The houses are similar in character, as there was little distinction between the classes of people, and are all introverted with a court in the centre. Like the houses, the public buildings like temples, mosques, Imambaras, hospitals, and schools have a court in the centre with covered and semi-covered spaces around it. They are all joined to the adjoining buildings by common walls making them into one monolithic mass. Later developments to the south of the city show on close inspection that the density of the built mass of the city decreased and it became more geometrical with roads becoming wider and linear. The houses also become more geometrical and longer. However, other than that the morphology of the ‘old’ city remained unchanged.

Daulat Khana and Residency

When the capital of Awadh was shifted from Faisabad to Lucknow two new complexes were developed; Daulat Khana (1788-89), the palace of

Nawab Asaf-ud-Daula and the Residency, the residence of the British Resident. Daulat Khana was situated on the northeast of the Machchi Bhawan Fort, and the Residency was situated to the south of the fort. When Asaf-ud-Daula came to Lucknow he initially stayed at the Macchi Bhawan fort, but moved out when as his palace complex was completed in 1788 after thirteen years. While at the Machchi Bhawan he greatly improved it and built the Bara Imambara there in 1784. The Resident, along with the capital and the Nawab, moved from Faisabad to Lucknow in 1775. His residential and official quarters came to be known as the Residency and were located to the south of the Gomti and east of Macchi Bhawan. The area is much higher than the surrounding land and thus held a commanding position. Although the 'Residency' was a single building, post 1857 the term appears for the whole area which had many more buildings and structures.

The Residency grounds had a variety of buildings, both in function and in their architectural style. Whereas the functions included all those that were necessary for a British community, it is their architectural vocabulary, which is very interesting. There were three types of structures in the complex; *kutcha* or brick bungalows with flat of thatched roofs, Muslim mosques or Imambaras for the locals in the Islamic vocabulary, and the official structures in the European Classical style.

For the British who had come to India as traders, the tropical climate was something, which needed getting used to. An English man had once commented to his countryman that ‘the great peculiarity of the tropical climate was that it was very hot there, and the one point an architect must never forget’. He further added that it was also very ‘light’ (sunny) and very ‘wet’ there. Tropics, it must be remembered was not just a climatic zone but also a cultural zone for the foreigners. Therefore, as much as protection from climate was important, creating a familiar environment was also an important need for them.

Thus, the first building that the British developed was a house that suited their culture, was closest to what they were used to back home, and something that could give protection from the climate. The most suitable answer for them did not lie in the courthouses of traditional India but in a simple village hut, with mud walls, thatched roofs, and an enclosure in the front. This *kutcha* bungalow developed from a simple hut to the impressive building within a large compound now a common sight mostly in the cantonment areas. Not only was the prospect of staying in a courthouse daunting for the foreigners, the dense labyrinthine character of the settlement made them uneasy and scared. So a need for safety prompted the British to develop separate residential areas at a safe distance from the old city. It should be noted that segregation not only suggested safety but also helped create a familiar surrounding for these nostalgic foreigners. This familiarity

was further reinforced by the use of ‘European’ styles in most of their buildings with a medley of images, transported to India by the British which had no one specific order or system except those that were substantiated by memory, photographs and drawing.

So even though the Residency complex was not designed with large bastions and fort walls, it was still solving the purpose of defense by segregation and its location on a hillock. There developed within this enclosure, a mix of buildings, which were, thatched mud houses or flat roofed bungalows with small patches of gardens. Local inhabitants continued to make buildings that were appropriate to their style of living, church was in the familiar Gothic style, whereas the official buildings were in ‘Classical European’ style.

The Residency, as does the Daulat Khana, present a new phase in the architecture of Lucknow. Unlike the Macchi Bhawan fort, which was designed for defense, both these complexes were not designed for fighting wars and unlike the ‘old’ city, which had an organic, yet homogeneous character, these two complexes were informal and heterogeneous.

Imambaras and Karbalas

Not satisfied with the extension of the Macchi Bhawan fort, and construction of the Daulat Khana complex, the new ruler of Lucknow, Asaf-ud-Daula wanted an architecture that not only symbolized his

dominance in Awadh, but also showed his severance from the Mughals. In India, an overwhelming majority of Muslims were Sunni including the Mughal rulers, thus the Sunni form of Islam was practised and patronized. On the other hand, the Shia sect of Islam was subdued. However, the founder of the Nawabi dynasty, Saadat Khan, was a Shia from Iran as were the subsequent Nawabs. To immortalize this freedom of faith, Asaf-ud-Daula and the later Nawabs erected innumerable *Imambara*s (buildings where Muharram is commemorated), and *karbala*s (shrines or burial places), both of which were essential and peculiar to the Shiite way of life.

The built form of both the Imambara and Karbala use the *rauza* or tomb as the prototype building type. The Karbala complexes are 'copies' of tomb complexes in Iraq and have domes and minarets of shapes and form quite different to the ones seen in India and Lucknow. The tomb is placed in the center of a cloistered courtyard and the Imambara on the other hand essentially shows a departure from the Mughal tombs. In it's simplest form, an Imambara is derived from a nine-part plan of the Islamic tomb. The central bay in the Imambara is extended but the proportioning maintains the square within. This central hall is called *majlisi*. The other important part of the Imambara is the raised platform on one end called the *shah-nishn*, on which the *tazias* are placed. The large Imambaras, unlike the Karbalas, have elaborate gardens within their courtyards. One is prompted to compare

them with the *char-bagh* of the Mughal tombs. These gardens have flower and fruit shrubs, waterways, and fountains but they lack the structuring of a four-part plan, which is essential for a paradise garden.

However, they also embrace elements from the mosque, pavilion, and *madarsa*. Like a mosque, it has a central open court surrounded by cloistered halls on three sides and the main hall on the fourth side although the axiality of the *qibla* is not maintained in these buildings. The elevation of an Imambara closely resembles a five bay prayer hall mosque without the dome. Like *madarsas* they do not have minarets which are used to call for prayer but have double layered, cloistered cells to house the students or pilgrims. This further shows a transition of a mortuary building type that is moving towards a community space.

Karbalas and Imambaras are arcuate structures, using arches, domes, and vaults as and when needed. However, residential Imambaras in Lucknow also use a jack arched and flat roof if spans are small. The surface articulation of the Imambara complex imitates stone decoration of other Mughal monuments of Delhi and Agra, which use stone, in brick and stucco. The craftsmen of Nawabi Lucknow have used *lakhori*, a small thin brick, and white stucco plaster. These bricks have been shaped as and when needed to give circular shapes, *muqarnas*, and foliation of arches. Again, like all Islamic buildings that abhor figuration of any sort, Imambaras and Karbalas are decorated with elements like calligraphy, geometry, and foliation.

'New' Lucknow

It is also relevant at this point to elaborate upon the infiltrating European influences in the Nawabi court. By the end of the 18th century, the Nawabi court included Europeans who had come as soldiers, traders, East India Company officials or just hangers-on who were attracted by the opulent court. The presence of these foreigners resulted in a considerable amount of Europeanization at the court of the Nawabs. This European influence exhibited itself in dress, entertainment, furnishings, and architecture which greatly influence the Nawabs especially Nawab Saadat Ali Khan.

Saadat Ali Khan assumed rulership in 1798, which he continued until his death in 1814, with his capital in Lucknow. He was the successor and half-brother of Nawab Asaf-ud-Daula. After the death of Asaf-ud-Daula, the British invited Saadat Ali Khan to become the next ruler. For this favor, the Nawab had to present half of his domain to them in the bargain. Saadat Ali Khan was known as a competent ruler and his main interest was in the beautification of the capital city, which had been neglected by the earlier Nawabs. Although Nawab Asaf-ud-Daula had taken a great interest in building activity, his concentrated effort was in the housing of the growing population and in religious buildings.

Two reasons can be attributed for Saadat Ali Khan's beautification of Lucknow. First, is the fact that, having ceded half of his domain and his army to the British, the Nawab was left with little administrative power or responsibility for defending the province, which was now done by the British. The Nawab was thus free to explore other venues. Gore Ouseley, the aide-de-camp to the Nawab and later his architect, justified this by claiming, that "the nabob is now happy and contended, eased of a burden...his splendor, furniture and houses, in a state infinitely more magnificent than they were before; for he has more opportunity of knowing what funds he can bestow on these things." As a kind of consolation for losing real power, the Nawabs were allowed by the British to indulge in making Lucknow one of the most visually splendid cities in north India that could be identified with the greatness of the Nawabs.

The second reason for the Nawab's interest in the development of the city, with encouragement by the British, was the fact that accounts of European travelers had began to come in, and they were full of criticisms for the ″narrow and dirty″ streets of Lucknow, especially as some travelers mentioned that they had great expectations from this ″celebrated capital″. The early travelers and officials also complained that the city lacked ‘proper streets’. In his own fashion, Saadat Ali responded to this complaint with the construction of the Hazratganj. However, by 1819, five years after Saadat Ali Khan's death, such

accounts ceased and were instead replaced by praises for the new capital.

The first step thus taken by the Nawab was to move away from the palace complex of his ancestors and develop a whole new stretch of wooded land between the dense city and the river Gomti. Nawab Saadat Ali Khan built all his kothis along Hazratganj with his own palace, Luckypeera, renamed Farhad Baksh, extended and later called Chattar Manzil, at one end of the street, and Dilkusha at the other. The Nawab had bought the Farhad Baksh already built from Claude Martin. The site and location of Dilkusha suggests that it was not only intended to mark the end of this triumphal way, but was also to be used as a hunting lodge and a country seat for the Nawab.

The Nawab chose Gore Ouseley, his aide and friend, to design Dilkusha. Ouseley was, like most other architects of his time, an amateur architect. His education and training in architecture must have come from the prolific European architectural publications of the seventeenth and eighteenth century and travel. What his education would not include was construction techniques and building technology. For this, he had to rely heavily on the local craftsmen and masons, as did all amateur architects.

When Ouseley was faced with the problem of designing Dilkusha, (which means pleasing to the heart), he went about ‘choosing’ a design that was ‘befitting’ to the status of the patron. The

building, which Gore Ouseley chose as a prototype for Dilkusha, was Seaton Delaval, a country house in Northumberland, Northern England, designed and built by Sir John Vanbrugh in 1717-1729. The designs of Seaton Delaval were published in third volume of *Virtuvius Britannicus* in 1725. This book is a compilation of seventeenth and eighteenth century English architecture by Colin Campbell. All buildings commissioned by Saadat Ali Khan were probably designed in this fashion with one or more 'amateur' architects.

Near Farhad Baksh the Nawab constructed Tehri kothi, the crooked house, for the Resident to live in, the ruins of which are in the Residency grounds. After this, he built Lal Barahdari for his court; this is now a library and was known as the Royal Palace. In addition to this, he built a new kothi on the other side of the river, called Dil Aram, heart's repose, which could be reached by a bridge of boats. He built another kothi called Hayat Baksh, life giving. In addition to these houses, the Nawab constructed the Munavar Baksh, light giving, and the Chaupar stables. Kankar wali kothi, Zahur Baksh, and Nur Baksh (D.M. residence today) were also built around the same time. Musa Bagh and Khurshid Manzil were also commissioned by Saadat Ali Khan. All these *kothis* fall along the Hazratganj street on the banks of the river Gomti, between the Residency and Dilkusha.

Whereas the city enclosed this stretch from one side, the river did so from the other. This extensive space was then divided up into

smaller *baghs* (gardens) built around handsome *kothis* (big houses). One visitor mentions "the King's palace surprised me in the first place. It was not properly a palace, but a continuation of palaces, stretching all along the banks of the Goomty..." Henceforth, any traveler who wished to meet the ruler or go to the British quarters in the Residency, situated near the Nawab's palace, had to go through this newly developed urban space.

Thus, the effort was not to develop the ‘old’ city or the old palace complex but to create a whole new sector of the city, further aided by the use of a new architectural vocabulary i.e. "the English style." Not only did this area become the "*Raj Path*" (royal street) of Lucknow, as suggested by Hjortshoj, but also was what came to be called ‘New’ Lucknow.

This street named Hazratganj, joined Saadat Ali Khan’s palace complex and Dilkusha, had along it several ″European style″ houses and shops. These houses were neither alike nor did they follow a regular pattern. They all, in fact, had totally different characters and were strategically located along Hazratganj within large wooded compounds. Even though the vocabulary used for these buildings was European, the Persian theme seems to have been the underlying essence of the development also, as is apparent from the intentional movement from one garden structure to another, with the river being the dominant ordering feature. Architecturally, the whole scheme is further unified

by the repetition of the facade of the Dilkusha on the building that marked the end of Hazratganj. This is a common feature in Mughal and Nawabi structures called a *jawab* (answer), used to maintain symmetry within structures and complexes.

Although Nawab Saadat Ali Khan conceptualized a Lucknow like his Persian counterparts, as a city of gardens, the whole design was smoothly juxtaposed with the European theory of the English 'picturesque'. Although he developed the whole area along Gomti as a series of gardens, they were not walled gardens but a series of informal gardens highlighted with 'European' style villas, placed at short distances from each other. Therefore, when visitors moved along this stretch, they could feel the effect of these gardens and villas as one continuous experience. So even after the new Nawab came to the throne Lucknow remained a city of gardens, this time not because of the walled gardens but because of this vast green area along Gomti. After this, the last Nawab Wajid Ali Shah revitalizes the concept of walled gardens in Lucknow when he makes his new palace at Kaiserbagh.

The conception of 'new' Lucknow came up in contrast to the 'old' city. Firstly, the old city was a like any other riverine Indian town or city which grew around the fort-palace, Macchi Bhawan, which was located on the highest mound of the city commanded three essential points of communication in Lucknow. However, the 'new'

city developed along the banks of the river. The major axis of the city shifted from being perpendicular to the river to being parallel to the river. The riverbanks were reserved for the rulers and the nobility. The common people continued to stay in areas far away from the riverbanks. The old *chowk* street was no more the main thoroughfare of the city gave way to Hazratganj became the *rajpath*.

Secondly, the 'old' city was a circular and dense cluster of houses strictly guarded with gates. The streets were narrow and labyrinthine and major streets had shops on either side. All open spaces were contained as courtyards within the houses. The city on the periphery was surrounded by gardens and farming land thus enveloping it in a belt. On the other hand, the 'new' Lucknow unfolded along the riverbanks, intercepted by 'villa' type houses surrounded by large gardens. Now the banks of the Gomti became the green belt studded with palatial houses. In most cases, both banks of the Gomti were used. The opposite bank became the main attraction for designing for views from the palaces and pleasure resorts.

Finally, but slowly, the 'old' dense city where the common man lived became influenced by the 'new' city and changed its character. The streets of the 'new' city were linear and less labyrinthine. They were much wider and could accommodate more vehicular traffic unlike the 'old' city. The typical indigenous dwelling of the 'old' city was built in attached rows with high walls for privacy and a blank brick

wall facing the street and with a central court. But this concept of a 'court' house slowly changed to a much more 'Europeanized' version of a house without a central court, situated in the center of a garden, with a dominant façade and rooms with clearly defined activities, very much like the ones we use today.

Kothis

By the mid-eighteenth century, Lucknow had many 'villa' type houses, called *kothis,* made by and for the European and Indian elite. The concept of the 'villa' and many other European concepts came to Lucknow with the foreign soldiers and travelers. It is interesting to study why and how these 'villas' were transported to Lucknow in the eighteenth century. Between 1723 to 1856, the Nawabs of Lucknow became increasingly independent of the Mughal court in Delhi. For the Nawabs and the other newly formed Nawabi aristocracy, architecture became a physical manifestation of their new status. They wanted an architecture that not only symbolized their total dominance in Oudh, but also showed their severance from the Mughals. They did this by patronizing the European ideas that were infiltrating the Indian borders. European ideas were also employed for their 'foreignness', novelty, and a way of proclaiming their alignment to the new power block.

Thus, when the 'new' Nawabs of Lucknow wanted to build their palaces, which were different to the Mughals, 'villas' were an ideal

substitute. Europeans friends of the Nawabs sold them the idea of the ‘villa’ houses which were the residence of the rich and powerful in Europe and which could be built faster as compared to the traditional palace, more economically, and could be ‘designed’ by the Europeans based on the publications they carried aided from memory. They were also easy to construct in the existing brick and stucco traditions of Lucknow

The twenty first century Lucknow is a result of the visionary town planning of Saadat Ali Khan and the ‘transplanted’ kothis like Dilkusha. These houses, designed and executed by amateur architects like Martin and Ouseley, assisted in directing Lucknow towards becoming a ‘modernist’ city. Sixteenth and seventeenth century Lucknow, in its dominant culture and form, had been essentially Islamic with a dense and labyrinthine urban fabric in which were embedded courtyard houses as the basic domestic form. These houses were planned around a central inner courtyard, with covered and semi covered multifunctional rooms around it. The ‘villa’ type kothis were in marked contrast to such houses. Thus the first influence of the kothis was that free standing houses came in vogue. The same building type was used for commercial and institutional buildings.

Secondly, they were freestanding, vertically stacked structures with dominant facades. Contrary to the court house they demanded a space around them from which they could be appraised. This new

prototype greatly influenced urban morphology and demanded a redevelopment. With the development of Hazratganj not only was a new Lucknow developed, it brought about a new definition of urban space and city planning. After Hazratganj, with its grand kothis, all streets of new Lucknow became wider and the density of the subsequent new sectors became looser.

Finally, the ‘villas’ not only transported a ‘new’ building type, a ‘new’ architectural vocabulary, and ‘new’ understanding of urban space, it brought with it the Neo-Classical ideals of the Western world. The old rule of the Mughals was rejected and a search for the ‘new’ order began. In architecture, European ideals substituted for the old order. Revivals and the pluralistic approach can be seen in the design of all the buildings in this period. Buildings could be built in more styles than one. The hybrid nature of the language became the ‘style’ of the period. The construction of buildings passed from the medieval masons into the hands of the new professionals, the ‘architects’. Medieval Lucknow slowly metamorphosed into Neo-classical ‘Nawabi’ Lucknow to the modern city of today.

Influences of European architecture had arrived in Lucknow as early as 1780 when Asfi Kothi was made in the Daulat Khana complex. After that many more similar ‘villa’ type ‘kothis’ in ‘European’ style were made in Lucknow, especially for residential use. Houses like the Dilkusha were exact copies of buildings in England. However, by the

middle of the nineteenth century, they had lost their purity of styles and became more ‘Indianized’. The reason being that the centralized planning and vertical stacking of activities of the villas did not suit the Indian way of living. This is more prominent in the case of royal Muslim households. These structures did not give the occupants, especially the ladies, the privacy that was required in their *purdah* living. Also, the royal households needed a variety of structures to fulfill their elaborate lifestyles that could not be fitted in these buildings. Some scholars are also of the opinion that the Nawabs and their officials reverted back to their traditional roots as the relationship between the Nawabs and the British had become sour and the easy exchange of ideas of the late eighteenth century had stopped. The design of Kaiserbagh palace complex is the outcome of this shift, from ‘using’ European ideals to re-iterating traditional Islamic concepts, most important being courtyard planning and the paradise theme.

Kaiserbagh

Wajid Ali Shah visualised a palace complex, which amalgamated all the intricacies of a paradise garden. Paintings and photographs taken before 1857 shows Kaiserbagh to have a manicured *char bagh* garden in the heart of the palace. As compared to the other palace complexes, Daulat Khana and Chattar Manzil, Kaiserbagh is probably the only one

that was designed before execution, and therefore had homogeneity of concept and style that was missing in the earlier two complexes.

The Kaiserbagh palace complex had three principal parts and each had multiple courts. The first part was the public areas where the king met his officials and subjects and where large *melas* and functions like coronation took place. This area was open to the public and subjects of the king. The courts of this part had religious buildings like the Friday mosque and temples. The second important part of the palace complex was the residential quarters of the king along with his offices, library, treasury, *hammams*, private mosque etc. And finally there were the residential quarters of the queens. Since each Muslim ruler had a large number of queens, the zenana formed a bulky part of the whole palace complex. This was located in the innermost part of the complex and was strictly guarded by female attendants and eunuchs. Only the king and select guests were allowed to enter these spaces.

Of all the buildings of Lucknow, Kaiserbagh is the most complex. Macchi Bhawan fort was a palace designed for defence whereas the later palace-complexes, Daulat Khana and Chattar Manzil were not. Macchi Bhawan relied on Mughal precedents for its architecture whereas the other two relied on European principles, maybe with an Islamic bias. Macchi Bhawan had a courtyard planning with strict hierarchy of spaces like its predecessors. All the above

palaces had the king's residential and official buildings, his zenana, and other subsidiary structures but also relied on the city for its other necessities. Unlike Macchi Bhawan, Daulat Khana and Chattar Manzil lacked a coherence of style and character. The architectural vocabulary of Macchi Bhawan palaces, as can be seen from photographs, relies heavily on Mughal precedents whereas those of Daulat Khana and Chattar Manzil rely on European Classical architecture. Paradise theme has been a common theme in all the palaces, especially in the layout of their gardens.

Kaiserbagh did not have fort walls, but defended itself by the complex movement patterns within it and the dense city surrounding it. Like Macchi Bhawan its planning was based on courtyards with a coherent homogeneous character, paradise theme all pervasive, with residential and official quarters of the king, his zenana, etc. However, despite all these similarities with Macchi Bhawan and its predecessors, the vocabulary of its structures was distinctly European with pediments and classical columns, even if their internal planning was indigenous to suit their Nawabi life styles, as was the case with the later kothis. Although the complex was joined by linkways like the Mughal palaces, the architecture of the palaces was more like the later kothis designed like European villas and country houses than the colonnaded spaces of the seventeenth century Mughal palaces. In Kaiserbagh, the palaces had proper rooms with defined activities albeit with internal courtyards.

Their facades were distinctly ‘Classical’. Therefore, one can safely assume that Kaiserbagh complex presents a synthesis of the two styles, late Mughal and European, that had co-existed for seventy-five years in Lucknow, sometimes playfully, sometimes forcefully.

With the annexation of Awadh on 13 February 1856, and Nawab Wajid Ali Shah exiled to Calcutta soon after, the Nawabi court passed in the hands of his son Prince Brijis Qadar with his wife Begum Hazrat Mahal as the guardian. She fortified Kaiserbagh and bravely fought the British from May 1857 to March 1858 when Kaiserbagh and Lucknow fell in the hands of the British. The First war of Independence dramatically changed the British view of Lucknow: the long coveted Nawabi capital was now a ‘sinister’ and ‘dangerous’ city with all the characteristics ‘that made rebellion easy and defence impossible’. After the war it had become clear to the British military that large palace complexes such as Kaiserbagh, mosques, and big kothis must be seized and demolished as they provided convenient shelter to the enemy Indian forces. The death sentence was thus passed over Chattar Manzil, Kaiserbagh and other important palaces of Lucknow. The work of 'reshaping the unhealthy and indefensible city of Lucknow' was given to Colonel Robert Napier of the Bengal Engineers.

Macchi Bhawan was destroyed, the ‘old’ city was mutilated, Kaiserbagh was cut open, and much of Nawabi Lucknow slowly disappeared. Surprisingly what was not destroyed was the Hazratganj

street with all its magnificent kothis probably because, made in the European vocabulary, they did not pose a threat to the paranoid British. On the contrary it was developed and became a major market for the British. Most of the kothis still exist and are in government or private use. (Refer Appendix I)

Conclusion

Historiography

The interpretations of the Indian architecture, as we know them today, were pieced together by nineteenth century British scholars for the first time and presented as a "history" of Indian architecture. These attempted to create a fresh historical tradition of India, which totally eclipsed the earlier Indian traditions of history writing namely "*Itihasa*" by the Hindu historians and "*Tarikh*" by the Muslims. The British scholars did this for two reasons: First, it had become important for them to understand India not only as casual travelers, but also as rulers. Also, these numerous studies had produced an enormous amount of information that had to be assimilated. A short excerpt from the writings of Smith, gives a fair sample of nineteenth century scholarship.

> "...The researches of a multitude of scholars working in various fields have disclosed an unexpected wealth of materials for the **reconstruction** of Indian history; and the necessary preliminary studies of a technical kind have been carried so far that the accumulated and ever growing stores of knowledge can be sorted and arranged with advantage..."[1]

Second, once India became a part of the British Empire, the achievements of the Britons needed to be included as a part of the British history. The English scholar, Havell, considered the writing of a comprehensive history, as "the architecture of India will not then appear as a bewildering museum of marvels belonging to a bygone age, but as a still living tradition...bearing witness to the wonderful constructive work of **our** Aryan predecessors..."[2] He further reinforced the fact that the Britons (north Europeans) and Indians were both from the Aryan stock with a common heritage when he considered that "Indian civilization is a branch of the same tree which we are proud to call our own."[3]

The historical traditions of India, which existed down to the nineteenth century, were critiqued by the English as being "unscientific" and " ahistorical" mainly because the "*Itihasa*", or the accounts of history given by the Hindu scholars, though rich in socio-cultural traditions, were indifferent to chronology and topography. The Muslim "*Tarikh*", on the other hand, though chronologically correct was dominated by prejudices towards their religion and monarchs. Vincent Smith, for example, the most influential writer of his times, dismissed the native scholarship as "the flattery of courtiers, the vanity of kings, and many other clouds which obscure the absolute truth."[4] These histories were thus, unacceptable by the European standards and finally replaced by the new traditions laid down by the British.[5]

Nineteenth century India then, saw the "history" writing, which was both "objective", and "scientific" and thereby "correct," on almost all disciplines. Architecture was no exception. However, though this British scholarship presents an enormous amount of information, it has often been critiqued as being "romanticized" or "highly critical", depending on whether its purpose was to show off the "triumphs and glories of the colonizers;" or to offer an excuse for their colonization. While the "romanticized" history selected only those aspects of Indian traditions which would improve the image of the British history, the critical nature of the interpretation suggested a "debased and static" society in India, saved only by the Western intervention.[6]

The historical kaleidoscope of studying Indian art and architecture was readjusted for a third time. This time by Indian historians, mid-twentieth scholars with a mission- the independence of India. To induce a sense of national pride, they used the nation's past, as projected by the romantic interpretations of the British scholars, unquestionably and without change. The historical tradition laid down by the British colonizers, and uncritically accepted and re-presented by the national leaders of the new nation was internalized as an Indian tradition. This nineteenth century European tradition still lives with us today and it is time to free the interpretation of the past, from the polemics of politics, and take a fresh look at the subject of Indian art and architecture.[7]

The extant scholarship by the British and later Indian scholars on Indian architecture is not only constructed to suit a political agenda, but is also based on the nineteenth-century tradition of English architectural history. This tradition makes a formal study of architecture through periods and styles, wherein every style has a birth, growth, maturity and finally a decline. The study of Indian architecture, is still studied through this outdated method which has divided the Indian past into four major periods. Early or pre-historic India dates before the 4th century BC; 5th-13th century AD is the Hindu and Jain period; 13th-18th century is the Islamic period, finally 18th century onwards is the Late, Colonial, or Modern period. Such a method of study is not only "exclusive", i.e. selective, but also presents selected architectural examples as being "mature" and thus good, whereas others are presented as "degenerate."[8] The architecture of Lucknow has, in the scholarship, fallen between the declining "Islamic" style and the budding "Colonial" style. Thus the uncritical study of architectural history through periods and styles, first by the British and subsequently by Indian scholars, has affected the scholarship on the architecture of Lucknow.[9] (Refer Appendix 2)

Lucknow

James Fergusson, in his, *A History of Indian and Eastern Architecture*, which first appeared as a part of the *History of All Nations* in 1866, is

the first scholar to have included the buildings of Lucknow in his study. Born in Scotland, Fergusson spent his earlier years as an Indigo merchant in Calcutta where he studied the architecture of India and China. He is the first scholar to have given a comprehensive and "scientific" account of the history of Indian architecture. He created a system of birth, growth and decline in 13 "styles," of which he posits the first 11 as "true styles", whereas the last two are "bastard styles". Lucknow belongs to the latter category; i.e. of a "bastard style." To quote Fergusson"s comment on Lucknow;

> "If mass and richness of ornamentation were in themselves sufficient to constitute architecture...this dynasty filled its capitals with gorgeous buildings, but all- or with the fewest exceptions- in the worst possible taste...Oriental Italian architecture it offends painfully...from the misapplication of the Classical Orders. Of course no native of India can well understand either the origin or motive of the various parts of our Orders...It is, in fact like a man trying to copy an inscription in a language he does not understand and of which he does not even know the alphabets..."[10]

Fergusson treats the buildings of Lucknow sporadically and his choice of them is arbitrary. There is no attempt to follow any chronological system beyond the classification of styles.

Later, well-known historians like Percy Brown in 1942, and G.H.R. Tillotson in 1989, made the scholarship chronologically correct, but no new interpretations were offered. Brown was the Secretary and Curator of the Victoria Memorial Hall, Calcutta; Principal, Government School of Art along with being a prolific writer on Indian art and architecture. Fergusson's thirteen styles were reduced to three by Brown, more strictly tracing the biological growth of the periods. He placed Lucknow under the concluding part of the Mughal period but was the first scholar to discuss it under two phases; "firstly that towards the end of the eighteenth century during which buildings were erected merely expressive of the style in its natural decline and secondly that which flourished in the nineteenth century when the art was stimulated into another term of life by becoming impregnated with elements from European sources."[11] Brown further in his book *Indian Architecture*, describes Lucknow architecture as being of a "hybrid character" with a "debased Mugul framework" and a style with no "spiritual value".[12]

Brown's interpretation of Lucknow can be attributed to his English traditions. Brown's short and concise bibliography is enough to show not only a deeper scholarship of the subject of Indian architecture but also reflects his affinity to the 19th century English scholars like Blomfield, Fletcher, Lethaby, Geoffrey Scott and Simpson. It is from these scholars that he derives his scientific and rational method of

interpretation. His work does not engage any of the sentimental or nostalgic overtones of Fergusson nor do his writings become totally like Fletcher's, which according to Watkin, "make all buildings look alike."[13] He does, however, take 's of defining styles by comparing them with another. Within this comparative method he discusses Lucknow architecture first with the preceding Mughal period and then, though not as clearly, with western styles. And as in any stylistic study, the individual buildings of Lucknow are employed to identify and substantiate the creation of the "style." Brown's study on Lucknow has often been considered as the final word on the subject and he is frequently quoted, even after three decades.

Tillotson, in his discussion of the demise of *The Tradition of Indian Architecture*, describes the architecture of Lucknow as being "debased Mughal", "incompetent classicism" and an "unsuccessful attempt at the Grecian".[14] Although written a century later this work still builds on the foundations laid down by Fergusson. Tillotson"s argument rest on the basic assumption that the Nawabi architecture of Lucknow presents the Mughal or traditional style in decline attempting to synthesize with the classical models of the west "without comprehending their intrinsic significance or historical development." Sentiments of Fergusson and Brown clearly restated. He however, takes this argument beyond this and points out that "it is not only Europeans with a classical education who have deplored the later developments in

Lucknow" but also native nineteenth century scholars like Sharar dismiss this architecture as "vitiated."[15]

It becomes clear that the buildings of Lucknow were interpreted as "debased," "vitiated", and "incompetent" within this scholarship because of two reasons: first, the fact Lucknow happens to fall at the tail end of the "glorious" Mughal period and thus cannot compare to its precedents; and second, within the architecture of Lucknow buildings there are European influences, which again do not compare up to the standards set by the Western classical traditions. The interest of the later social historians, mostly American, can however, be attributed to this "hybrid" nature of these buildings i.e. they had both Indian and European elements.

Major works which deal with Lucknow within this tradition are Sten Nilsson's *European architecture in India (1968)*; Jan Morris's *Stones of Empire(1983)*; and Thomas Metcalf"s *An Imperial Vision (1989)*. The main theme of this scholarship is the study of urban patterns and the relationship of power and architecture. Some Lucknow architectural examples have been used to exemplify the above concepts although since the interest has been for the period after the British rule i.e. 1857, the architecture of the Nawabi rule has not been effectively covered. They are interested in this period as an interaction of the European society with India and the colonial architecture as an extension of European architecture in a foreign soil.[16]

Some scholars, like Tillotson, interpret this architecture as a natural outcome of culture. According to him the Nawabs of Lucknow are to be blamed, whom he feels "were widely perceived as dissolute and incapable," and "Nawabi architecture was a reflection of the decadence of the court."[17]

A book based on the study of architecture as an outcome of cultural interaction, like others mentioned above, but exhaustively on Lucknow, is the most acclaimed work by a British scholar, Rosie Llewellyn Jones. She attempts to study the city whose "mere buildings (could) excite such vituperation from writers..." In her book, *A Fatal Friendship*, she describes the eighteenth and nineteenth century architecture of Lucknow as "political architecture" which is the outcome of "Indian dreams and European fantasies". While her work is rich in factual documentation and will be extensively used within this thesis, Jones also considers the buildings of 18th and 19th century Lucknow as an extension of European architecture in India. Being a social historian herself, she reduces their architectural importance by considering that, "Lucknow is strangely static..and does not evolve in the same manner as in the west...lf then Lucknow's European buildings did not evolve along lines parallel to those in the west did they in fact develop at all?"[18]

A review of the Indian scholarship on Lucknow architecture shows it to be mostly documentary in nature. Indian scholars, do,

however, agree with the Western scholars on one issue: they all call Lucknow buildings "European" in "style," thus always implying them to be foreign buildings on Indian soil.[19] Also, most scholarship on 'regional' architecture like Lucknow, Jaiselmer, etc., that do not fall within the 'high style', has been studied as 'vernacular' and 'traditional' architecture.

The architecture of Lucknow has been interpreted as "debased," that implies a loss of worth or value; "corrupt," implies loss of purity; "vitiate," implies a destruction of effectiveness by allowing entrance of a fault or defect, whereas "hybrid" implies something heterogeneous in composition and an offspring of two cultures or genera. The main paradox, thus, for the scholars, when dealing with the buildings of Lucknow seems to be their cross-cultural nature. They defy the cannons of 19th century English scholarship, which Tillotson sums up well as:

> "Indeed, their hybrid character pours scorn on the very notion of an aesthetic canon, of an architectural tradition - and it is for just this very reason they (buildings of Lucknow) have themselves been scorned."[20]

The social historians, on the other hand, try to account for the cross-cultural nature by studying this architecture as an outcome of the cultural power and dominance of the British. They consider extension

of European architecture in India a visible legacy of the British Raj. Moreover, for further analysis and interpretation of these buildings, they rely on the architectural historians and the extant scholarship discussed above.

All this has amounted to a neglect of the 18th and 19th century architecture of Lucknow. Thus there is a serious need to legitimize the study of these buildings and reassess their value and re-interpret these buildings.

Changing Ideals

Buildings of eighteenth century (Nawabi) Lucknow have been called of a ‘hybrid character’ with a ‘debased Mughal framework’ and ‘incompetent classicism’. To an observer all these terms hold true. The buildings are of a hybrid nature with elements from both Mughal and Classical buildings. It is also evident that they do not conform fully to either the Mughal style or the Classical style, thus the description ‘debased’ and ‘incompetent’. But it is this very mixed and hybrid nature that is common to all Nawabi buildings and signifies their importance. ‘Style’, both Mughal and Classical, in these buildings was freely ‘used’ to fulfill a certain purpose.

Till the eighteenth century architecture was deeply influenced by the Mughals, who were the rulers of India at the time. It is important to

understand why and how the architecture after the eighteenth century changed in Lucknow and India. Two reasons can be attributed for this; first was the change in the political scenario. The later Mughals were weak and could not control the large Mughal empire, as a result local administrators broke away from the court and declared their independence. For this newly formed elite, the Nawabs in Lucknow, architecture became an expression of their newly found independence.

The second important reason for the change in the architectural scenario was the presence of the Europeans who came to the Mughal court as traders and soldiers. They transported to the Indian soil many European tastes and contemporary Western ideals.

The Nawabs wanted an architecture that could symbolize their newly found freedom therefore they did not want to use the style of their superiors. The infiltrating European styles were a ready option. Not only did they offer an alternative to the Mughal, it also symbolized their severance from them and their alignment to the British. Thus, the buildings made by the Nawabs have many elements borrowed from Classical architecture. The needs of the Nawabs were fed by European ‘amateur’ architects and ‘imported’ architectural publications.

Europeans, however, used the Classical vocabulary as it helped them create a ‘homely’ atmosphere in a foreign land. They felt both safe and less nostalgic by the presence of familiar sights. But for both, the Nawabs and the Europeans, this ‘borrowing’ was casual and

without any serious any consideration to its ‘correctness’ sometimes the ‘use’ was only for its ‘novelty’. Whereas the Nawabs used the European elements for novelty we also see Europeans using ‘Indian’ elements as in the case of Constantia. The planning of Constantia by Claude Martin shows a strong similarity to the Taj Mahal. Also, when the Europeans built their houses they were adapting the local materials and house forms (huts).

A deeper understanding of the European architecture can be seen by the beginning of the nineteenth century during the time of Nawab Saadat Ali Khan. He not only visualized the ‘new’ Lucknow based on European town planning ideals, but also ‘copied’ European buildings like Seaton Delaval for it’s ‘correct’ transportation to Indian soil. Europeans also ‘copied’ buildings for their ‘correctness’ especially in the case of churches.

To rephrase, the ‘hybrid’ buildings of Lucknow express an architecture of ‘restlessness’, ‘playful experimentation’ with new forms and elements, and a tentative yet definitive step towards change. It is an architecture celebrating the friendship of two diverse cultures. Not meant for expansion, the architecture of the Nawabs was neither standardized nor was its influence widespread and it flourished at a local level, which lacked sophistication of construction or richness of building materials. Unlike the Mughal architecture that preceded it, it

does not conform and like the Colonial architecture that followed it is not regimental.

'Nawabi' vs 'Colonial'

Many a times this borrowing of European ideas and elements during the nineteenth century are confused by the buildings made during the late nineteenth and early twentieth century by the British colonizers. Both sets of buildings are very different; the intentions of the builders are different, the construction system is different, and the building types are different. The Nawabi buildings were built of *lakhori* bricks and mortar whereas the British rulers used a lot of steel and, metric bricks. And, early nineteenth century buildings are mostly residential (excluding the religious buildings) but the Colonial buildings were primarily meant for public use.

Finally, whereas the late eighteenth and early nineteenth century (Nawabi) buildings are an outcome of a 'friendly' relationship between the Nawabs and the British, the architecture of the twentieth century (Colonial) is architecture of 'dominance' built in an *Indo-Sarcenic* style; *Indo* for Hindu and *Sarcenic* for Islamic. Coined by Major Mant, the central conception of this style was always a combination of 'European science' and 'native art', of 'traditional forms' and 'modern use.' So even as the face of the buildings was camouflaged in an Indian garb, the planning of all civic structures remains unmistakably British.

Thus, ‘Indo-Sarcenic’ style was used to construct the notion of an empire that was both romantic and critical, depending on whether its purpose was to show off the triumphs and glories of the colonizers, or to offer an excuse for their colonization. Its ‘Indian’ appearance also made the new architecture more acceptable to the ‘natives’. Subsequently this style came to be known as ‘Colonial’ by Indian historians and scholars and is very different to ‘Nawabi’ described earlier.

Whereas Colonial twentieth century buildings were essentially British in concept with an Indian façade, nineteenth century Nawabi buildings had a European cover to deep-rooted Islamic ideals. European influence on the religious buildings like the Imambaras and Karbalas was only skin deep. Even though the Nawabs developed these structures to express their religious freedom as Shias from the Mughals who were Sunnis, the basic principles of *paradise*, *kibla* axis, non-iconographic decorations, and the arcuate structural system underlies all religious buildings. The basis while developing this new prototype building is also the Islamic nine-part plan of a tomb.

Whereas the palaces of the Nawabs had a distinctive European air, biases to ideas of Islamic planning and formal orders like symmetry are clearly visible. Most kothis were modified to suit their socio-cultural needs for *purdah*, facing Mecca while praying, and a strong hierarchy of private and public spaces. Innumerable gardens in

the *char-bagh* fashion show the rooted ness of the Nawabs in their traditional values. The planning of Kaiserbagh palace complex is a result of this marriage between Islamic concepts and European vocabulary.

Historic Significance

Despite its local character, Nawabi architecture is very significant to the study of architectural history. Primarily it fills in the gap of history that comes after the Mughals and before the Colonization of India. Most scholars and scholarships have excluded this part of study. What happened after the Mughal influence on Indian architecture weakened? How did ideals of cultural and philosophical change happening in America and France during the eighteenth century travel to India and how did they change the Indian perspective? Answers to these questions and related architectural happenings like technological advancement, emergence of the 'architect' as a professional, development of archeology and the plurality of styles are some Western influences that trickled in during the period of the Nawabs and greatly affected Modern India. We can see how Lucknow, and India break away from the medieval system of monarchy to a more democratic state during this period. This freedom manifested itself in architecture too as can be seen in the 'unorthodox' and 'experimental' architectural styles of the Nawabs.

The extant study of the architectural history of India excludes the study of Lucknow because it traces the ‘high style’ mainstream architecture namely Hindu period, Mughal period, Colonial period, and Modern period. A study of Lucknow or other similar regions have been studied as ‘vernacular’ architecture. There is no chronological order within this study and it is often identified as ‘regional’ and ‘traditional’ architecture. It also cannot be read in conjunction with the ‘mainstream’ architecture. Regional variations within any architecture built during the same time frame primarily arise due to difference in local climate, availability of local materials, and topography. However, there is little difference in political and socio-cultural influences affecting ‘regional’ and ‘mainstream’ architecture. This study has traced how these influences moulded the intentions of the 18th century builders. They were not only aware of the changes, but simultaneously they were also accepting and rejecting ideals from the old order, i.e. Mughals, and the new order, i.e. British, to formulate an architecture that was pertinent for its time which was ‘hybrid’ and ‘mixed’ as were the prevailing conditions. Only regional architectural solutions were possible in the eighteenth and nineteenth century India because there was no national power that could dictate a national level architecture. It was these ‘vernacular’ solutions like Nawabi architecture that stemmed from the disintegrated Mughals and helped pave the way for ‘Colonial’ and later ‘Modern’ Indian architecture, generally accepted

as ‘mainstream’. It is safe to say that the two, regional vernacular and mainstream high style architecture, co-exist simultaneously in a figure –ground relationship and cannot be separated. Just as ‘Nawabi’ architecture took roots from Mughal architecture it was also the context within which Modern architecture developed.

Finally, this scholarship attempts to offer a fresh interpretation to the architecture of Lucknow, which has been neglected by earlier historians on the pretext that it is ‘debased’ and ‘corrupt’ as they are studied within the old-fashioned nineteenth century English scholarship. This scholarship was based on the ideals of Enlightenment followed by Modern thinkers where ‘reason’ was paramount and ‘universal’ truth the order of the day. There was the emphasis that history’s forward movement was combined with the conviction that things were generally improving. Anything, which did not conform to this view, was deleted and excluded because of its ‘impure’ character as happened with architecture history writing of Lucknow. However, postmodern thought may be seen as a blurring of boundaries between ‘high’ and ‘low’ culture; the collapse of hierarchies of knowledge, taste, and opinion; and the interest in the local rather than the universal.[21] It is within this shift in history writing that this scholarship was possible which attempts to replace terms like ‘debase’ and ‘corrupt’ by ‘playful’ and ‘experimental’ thereby ‘validating’ the study of the architecture of

Lucknow and proposing that its study, and that of other 'regional' variations be 'included' while presenting a history of architecture.

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[19] Yogesh Praveen. *Lucknow Monuments*
Abdul Halim Sharar. *The Last Phase of an Oriental Culture*.
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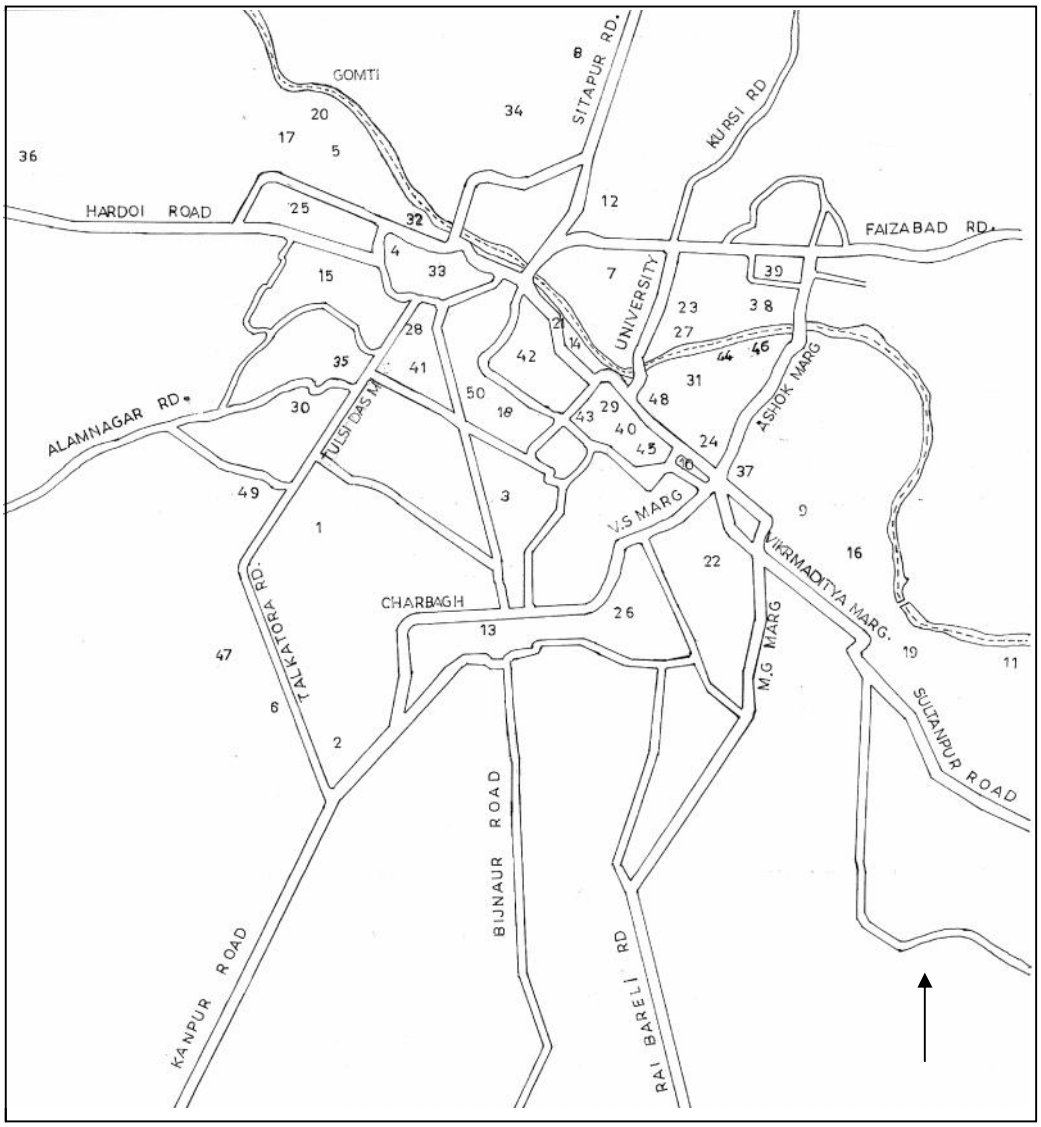

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Appendix 1:

Photographs of some buildings as they stand today

(Source: Neeta Das)

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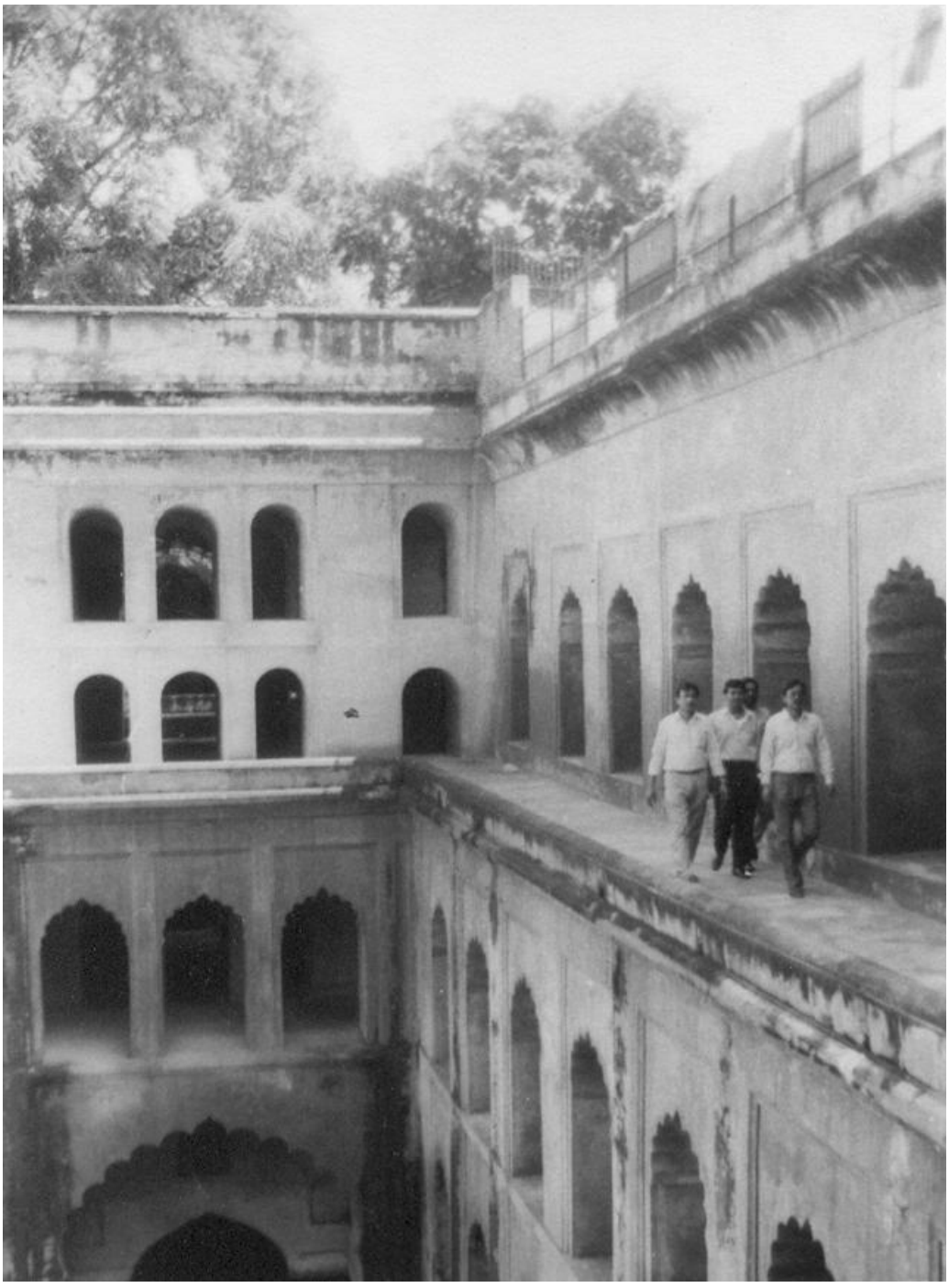

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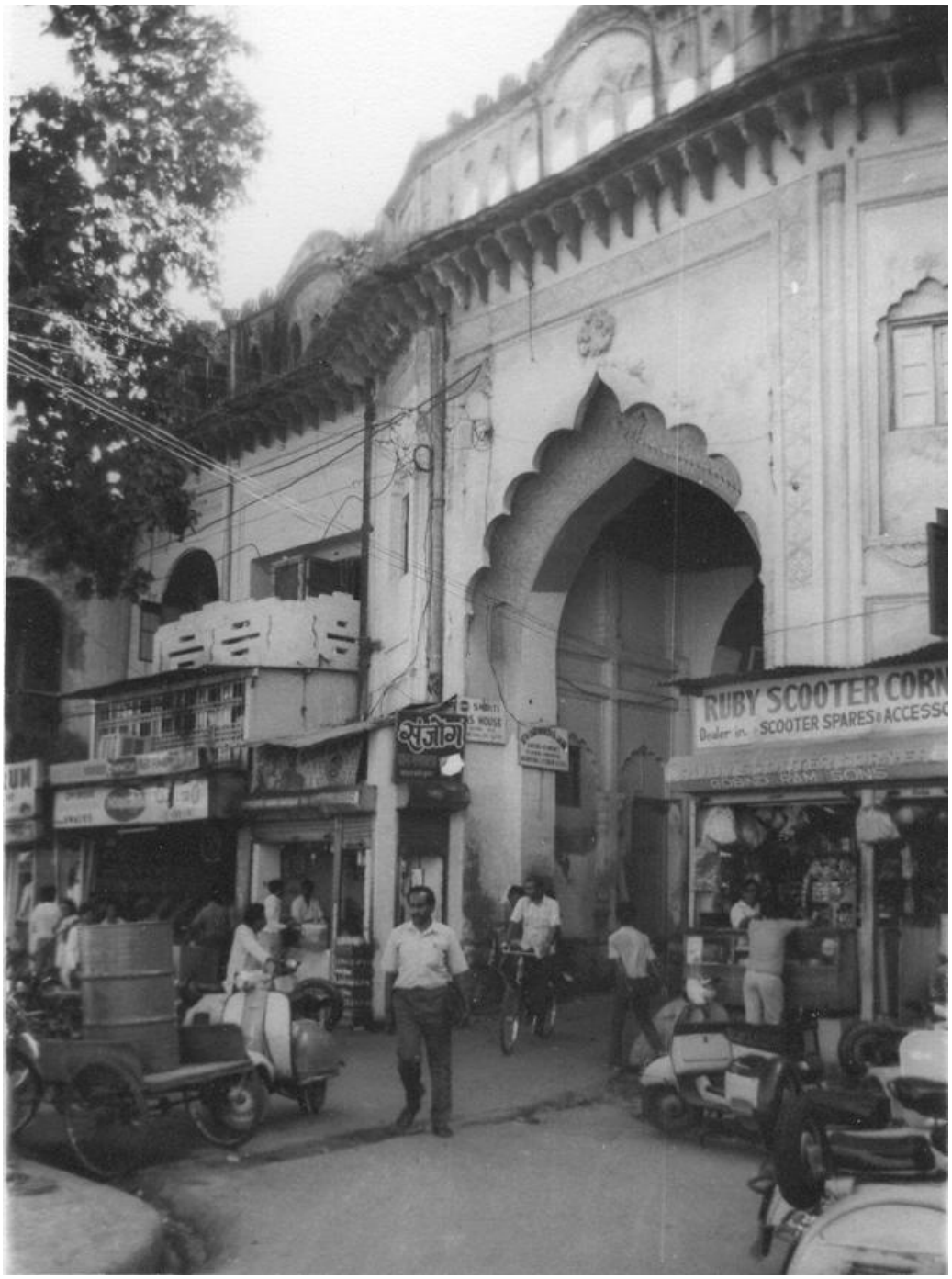

4. Entry to Sibtainabad Imambara from Hazratganj

5. Ruins of Musa Bagh

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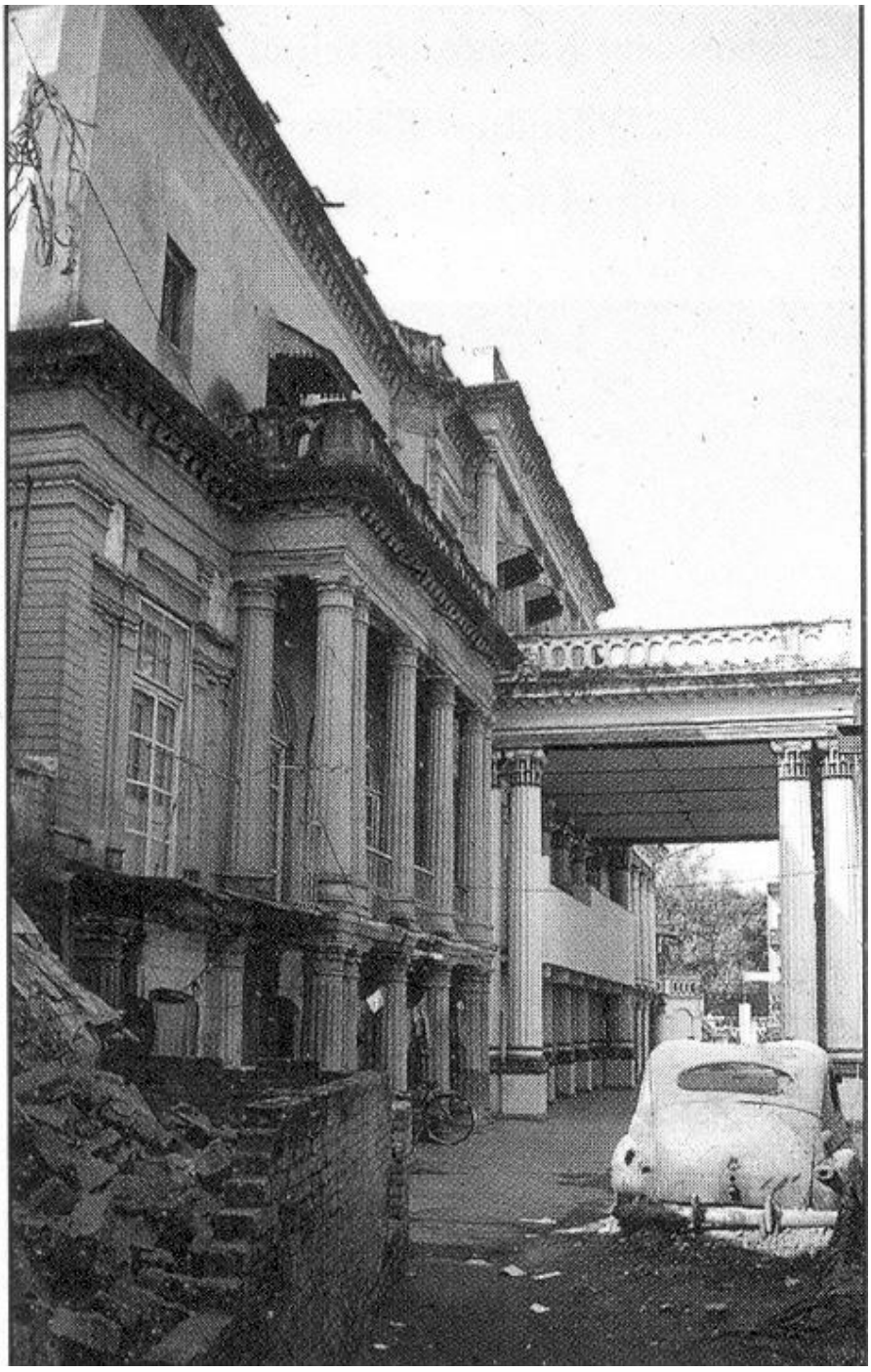

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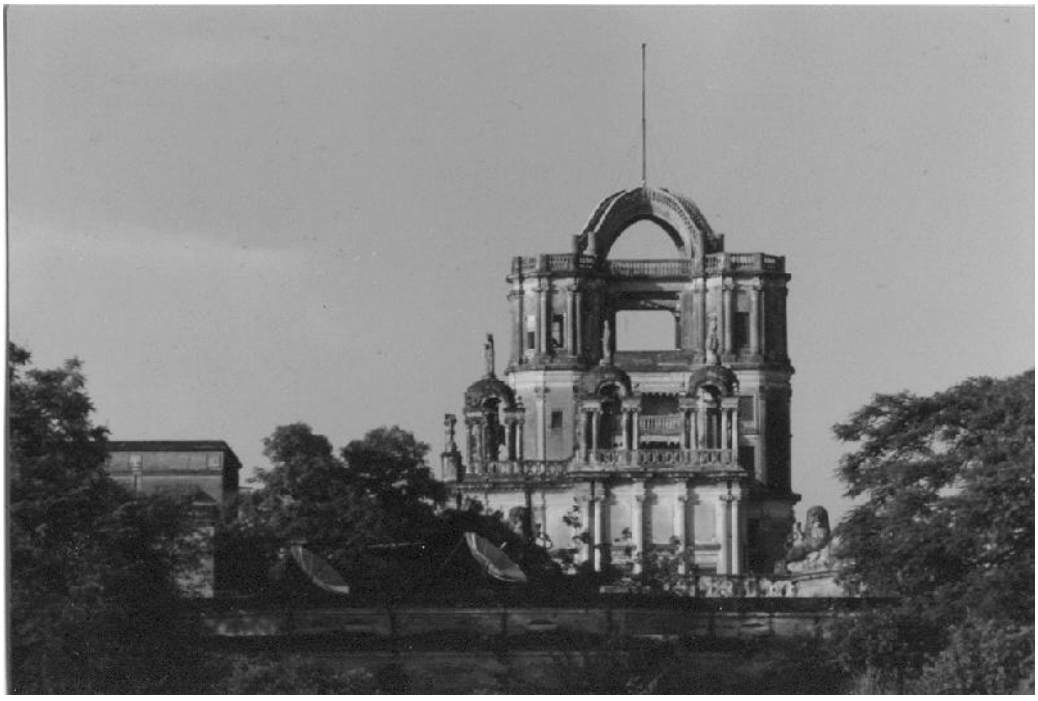

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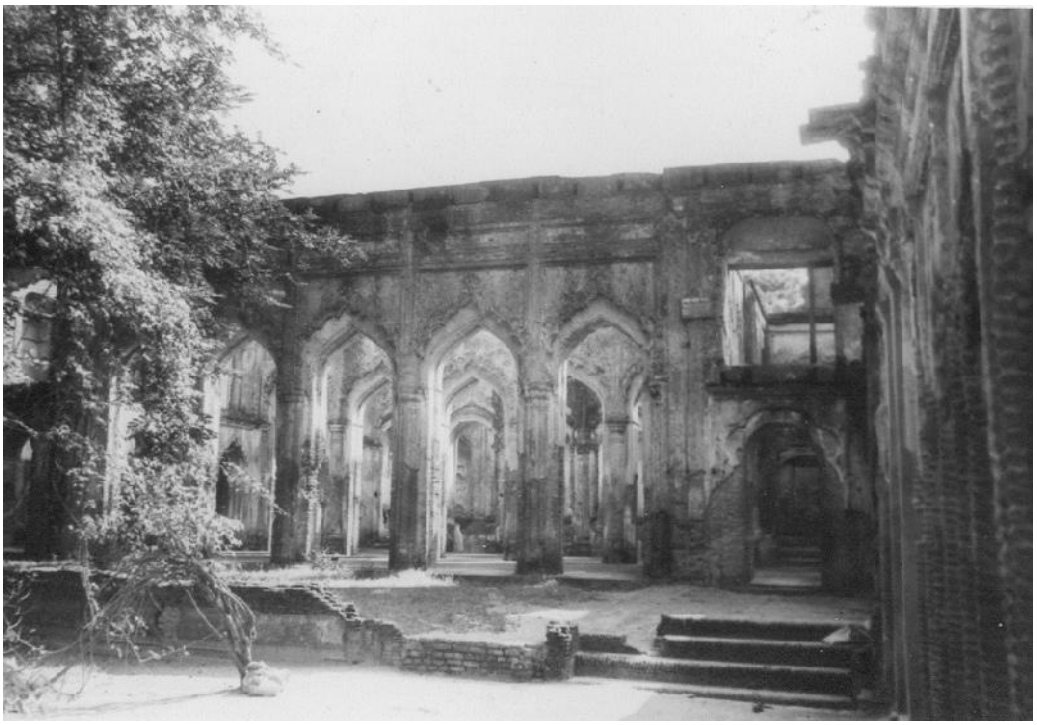

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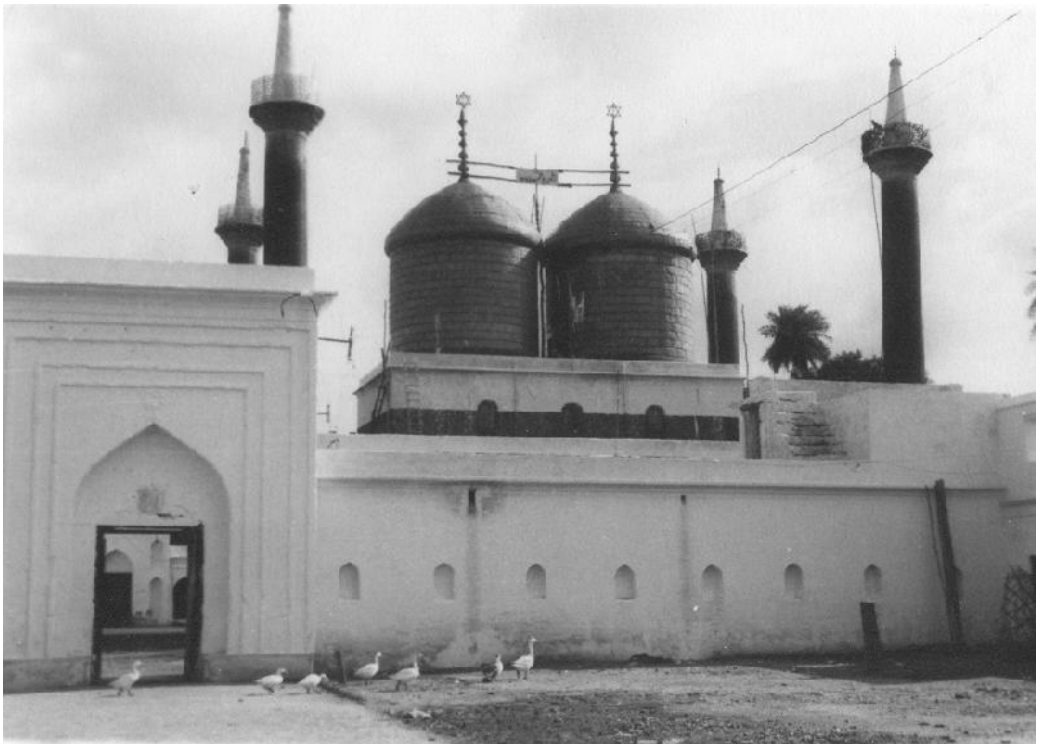

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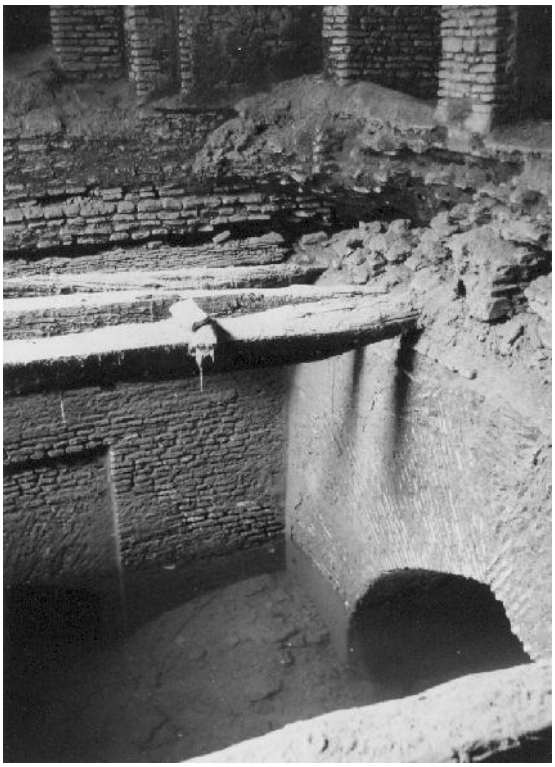

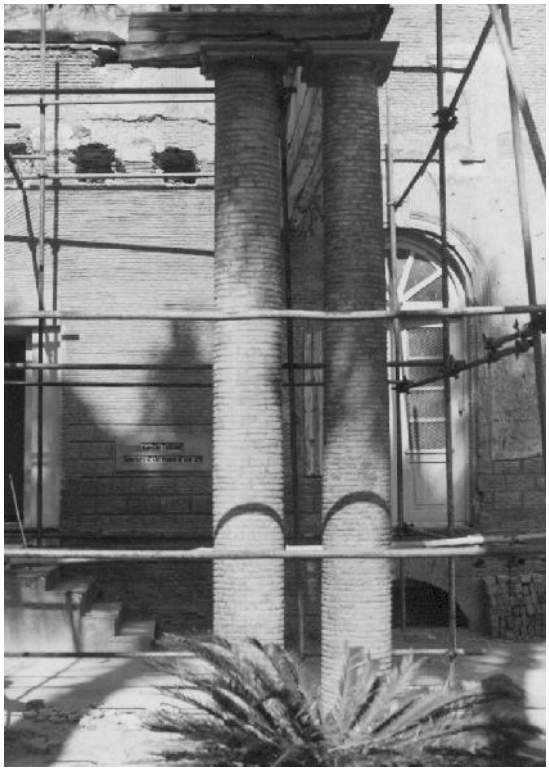

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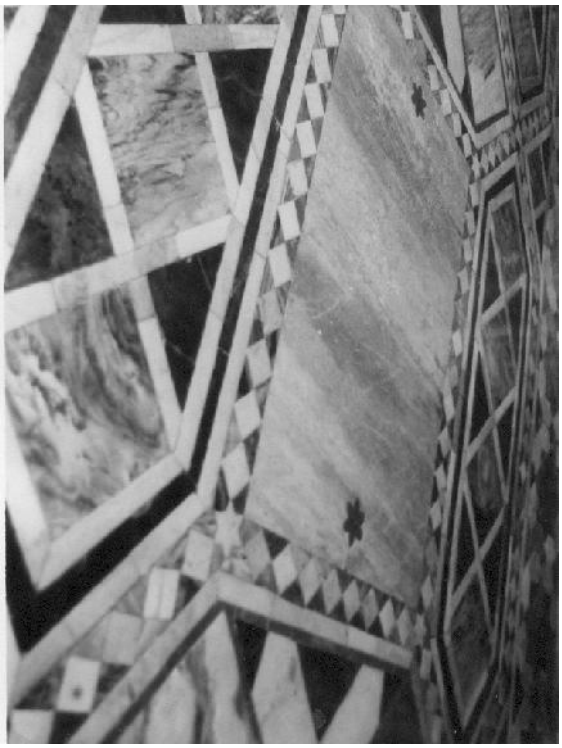

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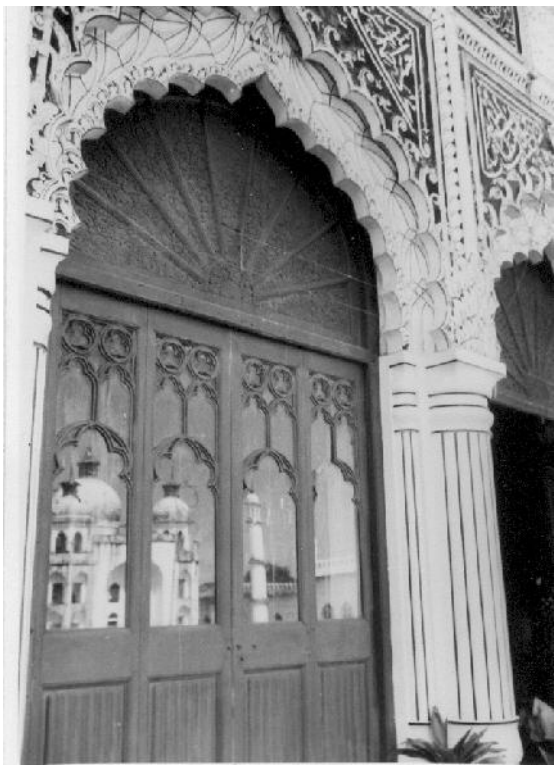

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Appendix 2:

Historiography- Notes

1600 English established the East India Company for trading in India
1764 Expansion of the Company in India

Travellers to India - Antiquarian scholarship

1771	Anquetil Duperron (Scholar in Asian languages)	*Translated Zend Avesta, Upanishad*	Arrival of Indian texts in Europe called 'la renaissance orientale
1778	Carsten Niebuhr (Dainsh natural hiatorian-scientist only survivor of Danish expedition to the East	Made arch drgs of remains	
1760-79	La Gentil de la Galasiere (Member, French academy of sciences)	Made exact drgs of temples	First Euro to present a consisten picture of Hindu astronomy, was received by Voltaire on return
1782	Pierre Sonnerat (Traveller, natural historian)	*Voyages aux Indes Orientales, 1782*	

British scholars in search for the 'picturesque' and 'sublime'

	Thomas and William Daniells (Artists)	Did aquatints and paintings	Inspired romantic interest in the picturesque-sublime Indian ruins
1786	William Hodges (Proffesional artist)	*Select Views in India, 1786* Did aquatints and prints	
1810	Daniells	*A Picturesque Voyage to India, 1810*	"...transport back picturesque
1816	"	*Oriental Scenery, 1816*	beauties ofthose favoured lands"
1834	"	Works published in 'Oriental Annual	Influenced H. Repton & Nash

Indian styles came in favour with the other Medievial styles of arch in Britain

	Maria Graham	*Essays towards the History of Painting*	
1813	James Forbes	*Oriental Memoirs, 1813*	
	Thomas Bacon	*First Impressions, 1837*	

1838	Markham Kittoe	*Illustrations of Indian Architecture, 1838*	
	Scientific Archaeology especially historic archaeology, devoted to the study of architectural remain		
	Asiatic Society of Bengal Founded		
1771	R. Gough, Director Asiatic Society of Bengal		Positivist approach of British archaeological tradition
	Based on the 'Society of Antiquaries'		
1780	Sir William Jones	Decisive influences in Indian art history	Moving spirit of Indology, encouraged Indian study through art, science & history
1813	The Mughal authority superceded by the British		
	Royal Asiatic Society founded		
1823	Founding members President Colebrooke William Chambers Published several volumes of the	Royal Asiatic Society' founded with George IV as patron and its mair aim was to present the contribution of the Asian societies to an Euro. audience and seek threads between Greek & Indian Philosphies *Asiatic Researches*	
1817	James Mill	*The History of British India, 1817*	Based on 'utilitarianism' philo. Convinced of Euro. superiority Critiqued the 'celebrated' Indian image. With the British in a dominant position its scholars attempted tc write a history of India with whatever info. they had gathered
	Rev. Thomas Maurice	*Indian Antiquities*	Attempted a connection between Greece Rome, India and Britain Mill still in minority
1811-21	Louis Langles (Member, French Asiatic Society)	*Monumenta anciens et modernes de l'Indostan, 1811-21* Translated works of Daniells in French	
1829-32	J. Tod	*Annals and Antiquities of Rajasthan 1829-32*	Beginnings of regional studies by scholars
1834	Ram Raz (Born at Tanjore in in 1790, was a	*Essay on the Architecture of the Hindus, 1834*	Ram Raz had got hold of a frag-ment of the Mansara, a treatise

	clerk, became a headmaster of an English school and finally became a judge. He knew English & regional languages. Richard Clarke encouraged him to translate the Sanskrit texts)		on architecture, written in Sanskrit; translates it with some help from an architect Later refered to existing monuments
		His essay used by German art historian F. Kugler & designer Owen Jones. Brought out similarities between Indian & Classical orders	
1841	Mountstuart Elphinstone	*The History of India (2 Vols),1841*	
1854-56	James Fergusson	*Architectural Splendors of Bijapur* *The Great Dome of Sultan Mohammed* *Architecture of Bijapur*	

Till 1834 the principles of Indian Arch. were known only through the existing bldgs, and by the studies of archaelogy and travellers with applications of European methods; Ram Raz's work initiated a new era of research into the Sanskrit texts

Art History and Indian Architecture

Art history as a new discipline emerged and the main objectives of pioneers like Winckelman was to trace the evolution of artistic styles; it also touched Vasari's idea of 'progress' and social history
There was the question of the origin of art; and the attempts to write the universal history

1764	Winckelmann	*History of Ancient Art*	Presented a univer. history of art for first time & implies Egyptian art older to Greek
1763	Comte de Caylus (French Asiatic)		Posited Egyptian arch as older th an India but Egypt was the origir due to simplicity and originality
1803	B, Rode and A. Reim (German Antiquarians)	Challenged Caylus and Winckelmann and reinstated Indian art as being the oldest but without taste and rules; a perfect instance of of primitive stage of art ; German Romantics later equated this primitive nature as intutive and sublime or as anti rational	
1818	G. W. F. Hegel	Forwarded the idea of Winckelmann's univ. his. but a history of mankind unfolding it's spirit;judged Indian art on the basis of classical canons of beauty as 'incomprehensible, threatening and mysterious'	

The Romantics and the Victorian Interlude

	August Welby Pugin		Critic and reformer of architectural industrial design;
1835-53	'Art Journal' published by the Parliamentary Committe, of which Pugin was a member, realised that quality of craftsmanship bad and had declined in the wake of large scale industrialisation; suggested education of artisans of the industries		
1835	Central school for industrial workers set up in SomersetHouse by Benjamin Haydon to improve ind. desig		
1851	Great Exhibition organised by the Prince Consort & Henry Cole		It highly recommended the India craftsmanship & Indian decora-ative design
1856	Owen Jones	*The Grammar of Ornament*	Outcome of the exhibition
	Ralph Wornum		Represented the orthodox view on Industrial arts; critical of Indian designs
1880	Sir George Birdwood	*The Industrial Arts of India*	Critical of the visualarts of India but romanticised the idea of the Indian village as the ideal community and decorative arts outcome of that
1857	The Great Sepoy Mutiny of India;	referred by Britishers as worse than the Black Plague	
1856	Ruskin	*Modern Painters*	Accepted the decor. arts of India
1869		*The Queen of the Air*	but rejected arts & arch. on basis
		The Stones of Venice	of rationalism of Hegel, calling
		Schools of Athens	it ' a systemless architecture'
	William Morris		Accepted the the village life of India as aviable substitute for the Industrialised west
1904	Sir George Watt	*The Industrial Arts of India*	Catalogue of the Exhibition of Indian Arts at Delhi

The Consolidation of the British Raj

1874-1927	The time was ripe for comprehensive histories because it was possible to view the Indian art in its entirety

The problems faced by the pioneer art historians were; 1/ to devise a chronological & theoretical framework in order to relate one style to another and 2/to make aesthetic evaluations especially related to morphology and evolution of styles

The art historians can be broadly classified as 1/archaeo. (Henry Cole , Fergusson) and 2/trancendental (E. B. Havell, Coomarswamy)

	Archaelogical tradition	Classical art was the exemplar, all periods of Indian art judged	
	Trancendental tradition	Questioned the supremacy of classical art	
1867-77	H.M.Elliot	*The History of India as told by its Historians*	Translation;Histories of Islamic rule in India, from Persian to Eng Most of the information on the 'medieaval' period comes from these sources
1877	End of the East India Company; India comes under the Victorian crown		
	Henry Cole	*Catalogue of the Objects of Indian Art exhibited in the S. Kensington M*	Contained the first history of Indian art & included the Mugha empire; used Cunningham's periodization (Brahmanica, Budh., Muham.)
1876	James Fergusson (Scotsman, trader, art and architectu historian)	*Rock cut Temples of India* *History of Indian & Far Eastern Architecture* *History of Architecture of all Nations*	Wrote national & Univ. histories Influenced by archae. & Ruskin Believed(Cole) that art dev. from simple to complex; docum. bldgs through a camera; Darwinian
	Archaeological Survey of India Founded		
1865-80	A. Cunningham Military officer of Bengal Engineers	Founder- Director, Archeo-logical Survey of India	Believed that, "architectural remains naturally form the most prominent branch of archaeology
1870-1905	James Burgess (Director-General ASI) Assisted by Henry Cousens	*Memoirs on the Survey of Arch--Architectural and other Archeological Remains* *-The Buddhist Stupas of Amra-vati and Jaggayyapeta* *-Sketch of archeological research in*	

		India during half a century (Essay)	
		-Mohammedan Architecture in Gujarat	
		-The Mohammedan Architecture of Ahmedabad	
1878	J. H. Ravenshaw	*Gaur, It's Ruins and Inscriptions*	
1900-28	E. B. Havell	*-The Ideals of Indian Art*	Argued for 'perceptual' approach
	(Artist and art historian)	*-Handbook to Agra and the Taj*	as opposed to the 'conceptual' of
		-The Taj and its Designers	archae.; he insisted Indian art be
		-Indian Architecture	judged against its own society &
		-Ancient and Medieval Architecture	traditions; believed in 'intention'
		of India	Havell searched for Indian spirit
		-Indian Sculpture and Painting	which would give him insight to
			the medieaval art of Europe
1901-03	E. W. Smith	*Mughal Colour Decoration in India*	
		Architectural Antiquities of Northern Gujarat	
1904	Sir George Watts	*Industrial Arts of India*	
1906	H. Cousens	*Portfolio of Illustrations of Sind Tiles*	
1907	Vincent Smith	*The History of Fine Arts in India and Ceylon*	First scholar to give an account of the Mughal period Considered whatever was good in Indian artwas derivative derivative from other cultures Greek, Persian and British.
1913	G. Sanderson & T. Begg	*Types of Modern Indian Buildings*	
1913	C.M. Villiers Stuart	*Gardens of the Great Mughals*	
1914	Gabriel Jonveau	*Archeologie du sud de l'Inde*	Derived chronology through
	Dubreuil	*Dravidian Architecture*	a study of motifs
	(French scholar)		
	Influenced		
	Philippe Stern		
	F.H.Gravely		
1908-1939	A.K.Coomarswamy	Total works nearing 13	Condemened the British govern.
	(Born in Ceylon in 1877; Father was	*Rajput Painting*	for attempts to industrialize Indi
	Hindu and Mother an English; Went	*History of Indian & Indonesian*	Believed in the spiritual quality

	England at the age of two or three; PhD in Geology from U. London in 1906 Actively participated in the national revival of India & Ceylon as a result of the frustation of modern living; wellread in both East & West literatures; Curator, Boston Museum of Fine Arts	*Art*	of the Indian arts and crafts Traced affinity between Ind.and medieaval art; believed in 'spirit' as the force behind art; has been critiqued as a 'nationalist' who judged Indian art by west. western standards even as he promoted to a western audience
	1910 Watershed year; Indian art was finally accepted as individual art form It is also around this time that the Nationalist movement started with full force Regional studies part of the National movement which induced a sense of pride amoung the people of Indi		
1913	Abid Ali Khan	*Notes on Gaur and Padua*	Interest in regional studies
1920	J. Vogel	*Tile Mosaics of the Lahore Fort*	
1921	H. Sharp	*Delhi, Its Story and Buildings*	
1924-46	Stella Kramrisch	*'Influence of race on early Indian ar*	Followed trad. of Coomarswamy
	Art Historian	*Grundzuge der indischen Kunst*	Increasingly used more Sanskrit
		Indian Sculpture	texts
		The Hindu Temple (2 Vols)	
		The Art of India	
1924	Hermann Goetz		Tried to trace chronology of Mu art through costumes depicted in depicted in paintingTried to brin India in line with general history
1926	Mohammed Fasih-ud-din	*The Sharqi Monuments of Jaunpur*	More and more studies on Islami
1926	J. F. Blakiston	*The Jami Masjid at Badaun*	arch. were undertaken; hitherto
1926	J. A. Page	*Historical Memoir on the Qutb*	neglected by the British scholars
1928	G. T. Rivoira	*Moslem Architecture*	in lieu of the Ancient studies
1929	G. Yazdani	*Mandu, the City of Joy*	
1924-56	Percy Brown	*Rajput Paintings*	Work presents a compilation of
		Indian Painting Under the Mughals	the earlier works of the 'archaeo.
		Indian Architecture (2 Vols)	with chronol. evolution of styles; documentation in drgs & plates
1933	D. D. Ganguly	*History of the Paramara Dynasty*	

1939	Dr. Beni Prasad	*Note on the Buildings of Humayun*	

Independent India

1947 India becomes an independent Nation for the first time in her history;
Nationalist leaders need to convince the people of their own collective identity along with projecting an image of a new nation to the world
Take the help of the writings of the Art and Architectural heritage of India to promote their cause
'History of Indian Art and Architecture used as a political tool

1952 United States emerges a world power as result of the World War II; American scholars esp. social scientists flood India. American Institute of Indian Studies continues the work of the Brit. scholars in India
Three trends in the scholarship is distinguishable; 1/ Continuation of the British scholarship
2/ Study of the Raj by the Western scholars and 3/ Regional; vernacular; tradional arch. studies mostly by Indian scholars

1953	Benjamin Rowland	*The Art & Arch. of India, The Pelic*	Pelican Series continues to be written a continuation of the British scholarship with little changes and additions written as a guide primarily for a western audience; as were the Living arch. and others;some like Gajjar were critical of the above scholarship but without any majc deviation from the usual method
		History of Art; ed N. Pevsner	
1959	Hermann Goetz	*India, Five thousand years of Indian art (NY)* (Art of the World series)	
1964	Vasudeva Agarwal	*The Heritage of Indian Art (India)*	
1966	Ajit Mookerjee	*The Arts of India (India)*	
1968	Sten Nilsson	*European Architecture in India*	The first book that deals with the arch. of Euro. in India between 1750 and 1850; being the first of it's kind it presents a very mixed methodology
	(Swedish Art Historian)	(Doctoral Thesis, Lund Uni.,Sweden	
1968	Mildred Archer	*Indian Architecture and the British*	
1969	Andreas Volwahsen	*Living Architecture: Indian (2 Vols, NY)*	

1969	Michael Edwards	*Indian Temples and Palaces (Great Britain)* (Great Bldgs. of the World)	
1970	Satish Grover	*The Architecture of India (2 Vols, India)*	
1971	Irene Gajjar	*Ancient Indian Art And the West (India)*	
1974	K. Sundaram (MA, PhD, Dept of History & Archa Andhra Uni.)	*Monumental Art and Arch. of India* (India)	Similar writing was done by Ind 'Nationalist' writers which were extensively used for teaching in architecture schools
1977	George Michell	*The Hindu Temple (NY, London)*	
1977	Partha Mitter	*Much Maligned Monsters (Chicago)*	Historiography of the pre-Indep. scholarship of Ind art by western
1978	Thomas Farell	*Mughal Architecture (Uni. Mich.)*	
1981	Basil Gray (ed.)	*The Arts of India (Cornell Uni.)*	
1982	R. Nath	*Islamic Architecture and Culture in India (India)*	

India in the last two Decades

The vernacular architectural studies move from the hands of the anthropologist and geographer into the hands of the architect and architectural historian

Indian architectural history strongly influenced by American scholarship and behavioural sciences

1983	Jan Morris	*Stones of Empire*	Interpretation of arch as an outcome of the British power
1983	Meister & Dhaky (ed)	*Encyclopaedia of Indian Temple Architecture (Uni.Penn.)*	
1984	Veena Talwar Oldenburg	*The Making of Colonial Lucknow,* (PhD thesis, Uni. Illinois), Cambridge	
1985	Rosie Llwellyn Jones	*AFatal Friendship (India)*	
1985	Philip Davies	*Splendors of the Raj*	
1987	Michael Fisher	*A Clash of Cultures: Awadh, the British and the Mughals (India)*	
1987	Kathleen Woods Masalski	*India's vernacular architecture as a reflection of culture*	
1987	Jose Pereia	*Elements of Indian Architecture (India)* *Ritual Space in India, 1980 (edited)*	
1987	M. A. Nayeem	*The Splendor of Hyderabad: The Last*	

		Phase of an Oriental culture
1989	Yogesh Praveen	*Lucknow Monuments (India)*
1977-92	George Mitchell	*The Penguin Guide to theMonuments*
		of India, 1989
		Ahmedabad, 1988
		Animals in Four Worlds; sculptures from India, 1989
		Architecture in the Islamic World, 1978
		Brick Temples of Bengal, 1983
		Elephanta, the cave of Shiva, 1983
		City of Victory, Vijayanagar, 1991
		Firozabad Revisited, 1992
		The Hindu Temple, 1977
		The Islamic Heritage of Bengal, 1984
		The Islamic Heritage of the Deccan, 1986
		Living Wood, 1992
		Royal Architecture and Imperial Style at Vijayanagar, 1981
		Splendors of the Vijaynagar Empire:Hampi, 1992
		Where Kings and Gods Meet, 1984
		Ahmedabad, 1988 (co-ed Snehal Shah)
1989	G. H. R. Tillotson	*The Tradition of Indian Architecture*
		The Rajput Palaces, 1987
1989	Thomas R. Metcalf	*An Imperial Vision*
1989	Norma Evenson	*Yhe Indian Metropolis*
1990	Ebba Koch	*Mughal Architecture: An Outline of it's*
		History and Development (NY)
1990	Christopher Alexander	*The History of Architecture in India (London)*
1990	Nand Surehwara	*Art and Architecture of Jaiselmer*
1990	S. K. Chandholke	*Nature and Structure of Rural Habitation (India)*
1990	C. S. H. Jhabvala	*Delhi: Stones and Streets (India)*
1992	Nezar AlSayyad (ed)	*Forms of Dominance on the architecture*
		and urbanism of the colonial enterprise (Brookfield)
1992	Catherine Asher	*Architecture of Mughal Architecture (Cambridge)*

1993	Robert Fisher	*Buddhist Art and Architecture* (World of Art) Uni. South California
1993	Thesis, PhD, Uni. Penn.	*Originality and Origination of Vesara Architecture, Ajay Sinha*
1993	Thesis, MA, Canada	*Qur'anic Epigraphy in the Delhi Sultanate Alexandra Bain*
1994	Thesis, PhD, Cornell University	*Productions of Identity in (Post) Colonial "Indian" Architecture, V. Prakash*

(Out of the 41 Thesis presented in the United States, 14 were on Islamic monuments; 16 on Temples and 2 on Colonial architecture and rest on other issues. Only one offers a critical essay on 'Indian' arch)

‘Lucknow: An Urban History’, was originally written as a doctoral dissertation titled, ‘Some Aspects of Awadh Architecture,’ started in the conservation department of School of Architecture and Planning, New Delhi but due to some technical problems was finally submitted in the Department of Medieval and Modern History, University of Lucknow, Lucknow in 2003. It was written under the supervision of Dr. P.K.Ghosh, Professor, Department of Medieval and Modern History, University of Lucknow.

The thesis is being published in its original format. To maintain the ‘authentic’ flavour of the thesis that was typed out on a word processor, and all illustration pages put together by hand, and the whole thesis finally xeroxed and hand bound, I have left the document with its ‘irregularities’ and ‘inconveniences’ not to forget the ‘black and white’ presentation and hand drawn drawings.

Most of the matter remains unchanged and only a small section on reconstruction of Lucknow has been added to the last chapter ‘War and the destruction of Nawabi Lucknow.’ I hope this thesis will be of use for those interested in Lucknow. The thesis deals with the genesis, growth, and expansion of the city of Lucknow during the Nawabi period. It does not deal with the individual buildings and their architecture in detail, and therefore, has been titled ‘Lucknow: An Urban History.’

Neeta Das, an academician in practise, is a graduate in Architecture from CEPT, India and a post graduate in Architectural History, Criticism, & Pedagogy, USA with a Ph.D. from SPA Delhi/ Lucknow University with specialisation in conservation from UK. Das has authored and co-authored several books on architectural history and their conservation. With a teaching career of over three decades, she is currently based in Kolkata and runs her own architectural practise in conservation. Her work emphasises the holistic and sustainable conservation of old buildings and urban precincts by helping re-align them with the mainstream systems and developments.

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